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UNCLE TOM AND CLAYTON: FACT, FICTION, AND MYSTERY[1]

By William H. Pease and Jane H. Pease

With the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850, the antislavery crusade in the northern United States reached fever pitch. Professional abolitionists fought their battles with pen and sword. Clergymen preached emancipation from innumerable pulpits. Political parties dedicated themselves to antislavery. And vast numbers of other persons, whose professions were diverse, whose interests were many, but whose devotion to antislavery was intense, formed a mighty army and audience for the crusade. Among them was a young woman, daughter of a New England clergyman who was also the President of Lane Seminary in Cincinnati. She had been raised in the New England tradition of moral absolutes, of literary effluence, of the reformer's conscience; and her girlish years on the banks of the Ohio had briefly introduced her to slavery. That she should join the army was only natural.

In 1852 Harriet Beecher Stowe published the first of two major books dedicated to antislavery. Almost immediately she became a celebrity, for *Uncle Tom's Cabin* caught northern imagination and the imagination of Europe as well. Three years later she published the second book, *Dred: A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp,* a better book in some ways, though not so popular as *Uncle Tom.* Quite unwittingly Harriet Beecher Stowe had become, so Abraham Lincoln is reputed to have remarked later, the little woman who caused the Civil War.

Uncle Tom was an upright, morally incorruptible Negro slave. Devoted to his master, the kindly Kentuckian, Mr. Shelby, whose incautious living had brought him financial difficulties, Uncle Tom cherished most his unique position as protector of his fellow slaves. Inevitably Shelby was forced—with the slave trader and creditor, Mr. Haley, at his door—to sell Tom south: the most horrible fate a slave could imagine. Tom, true to his trust, accepted his lot to save his fellows. Ultimately, at the hands of the classically brutal slave master, Simon Legree, he suffered indignity and maltreatment until at last a benevolent deity called him Home.

The story of *Dred* was somewhat different. Young Edward Clayton, scion of an old North Carolina family, was a white man of integrity and Christian charity. Abhorring the evils of slavery, he dedicated himself to improving the lot of the slaves on his own estate, but was rewarded only with the disfavour of his neighbors and his friends. Virtue, however, triumphed. Clayton sacrificed all—ease, position, wealth, home. Taking his slaves to Canada, he colonized them and trained them for freedom.

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1. I should like to express my sincere thanks to the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, New York, for making available to me two grants which have, in large measure, made possible the research upon which this article is based. WILLIAM H. PEASE.

Mrs. Stowe's stories were written from a superficial knowledge of the slavery system, from Northern stereotypes of the Negro and the South, and from a large piety and enthusiasm. For better or worse, these books, particularly *Uncle Tom,* became part of an American heritage; Uncle Tom himself became a symbol for the American Negro. Some call him high-minded, honourable, humble, incorruptible, sublimely Christian. Others call him stupid and unreal. But whatever he has meant, that meaning has been freighted largely with emotion, almost never with understanding. *Goodbye to Uncle Tom* is more than a current book title; it is a plea to banish these stereotypes, to understand the Negro as a person.

Mrs. Stowe's heroes, as is well known, were drawn from life. Uncle Tom was, in reality, Josiah Henson, runaway slave who founded the Dawn Community in Canada. But, although Mrs. Stowe had met Henson and knew his story, she did virtually nothing to incorporate that story into her novel. The real life Uncle Tom bore little resemblance indeed to the submissive, dignified, yet tragically pathetic, fictional Uncle Tom. Josiah Henson was a man of action, hard-hitting, and perhaps even shrewdly devious in some of his accomplishments. The story of Clayton, on the other hand, was patterned on the story of the Reverend William King, Irish-born Presbyterian minister and ex-slaveholder, who took his human property to Canada in the 1840's and founded there the most successful of all the Negro community experiments.

Josiah Henson's story ought to be easily told, for he left an autobiography published in several editions.[2] Despite it, and because of it, the major events of his life lie shrouded in a fog of contradictions, concealing the man and his works in an intriguing mystery. Like Uncle Tom himself, Josiah Henson was born a slave—the year was probably 1789. As a young boy he had a kind and benevolent master in Dr. Josiah McPherson, a man not unlike, one imagines, Uncle Tom's own Mr. Shelby. But fate overtook Henson. His master died and he became the property of a cruel taskmaster, Isaac Riley. In the middle 1820's Henson, a thoroughly loyal and trustworthy slave, was sent to Kentucky to Riley's brother's home in charge of a group of slaves—refusing during the journey to make good an ideal chance to escape. He remained in Kentucky three years, became a licensed Methodist preacher, and in 1829 managed to purchase his freedom, shortly denied him through Riley's treachery. Soon thereafter Henson was sent to New Orleans to be sold. By a happy fate, however, he returned up the Mississippi with Riley's brother, Amos, who had become sick on the trip.

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2. Josiah Henson. *An Autobiography of the Rev. Josiah Henson ("Uncle Tom") From 1789 to 1881. With a Preface by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Introductory Notes by George Sturge, S. Morley, Esq., M.P., Wendell Phillips, and John G. Whittier. Edited by John Lobb, F.R.G.S.* London, Ontario: Schuyler, Smith & Co., 1881. This is an enlargement of earlier editions published in 1849, 1852 and 1858. An American edition was also published in Boston in 1879.

Here the stories of Uncle Tom and Josiah Henson diverge. Uncle Tom would have returned to his taskmaster and meekly met his prescribed fictional fate. Not so Josiah Henson. He had had enough. Trust and loyalty to his station notwithstanding, he escaped to Canada in October 1830. He remained in Waterloo, Upper Canada, for several years, actively formulating a plan for a Negro colony. In the fall of 1834 he set out to locate a site for the projected settlement, selecting a tract near the present town of Dresden, Ontario. There, the Dawn Community was established.

The founding of Dawn is veiled in obscurity, for the records are both scanty and conflicting. Henson's autobiography as well as his reports in local newspapers supply some clues—clues which are often contradictory. Hiram Wilson, a missionary in Canada who had joined Henson in 1836, furnished further contradictions in his letters to the press. Benjamin Drew, an American who toured Upper Canada in the mid-1850's also added conflicting evidence in his book, *Northside View of Slavery.* Even the reports of the Canadian Anti-Slavery Society and the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society are inexact and confusing. Nobody, it seems, remembered anything very accurately. There are recorded numerous dates for purchases of land, and different sums of money collected by various people on several occasions. All of this might have been a helpful statistical summary, but no bit of evidence tallies with any other evidence. Henson, for example, would have us believe that the settlement began about 1836,[3] but this date is inconclusive, for the heart of the settlement was a manual training school, the British American Institute, organized probably in 1841.

Even the land records of Kent County do not clear up the mystery entirely. The deeds do indicate, however, that the first two hundred acres of land were purchased from a William Hannah in 1841 by James C. Fuller, a Quaker philanthropist of Skaneateles, New York, and others "for the alone purpose . . . of Education Mental Moral and physical of the Coloured inhabitants of Canada not excluding white persons and Indians." This without much doubt marked the real beginning of the Dawn Settlement and of the British American Institute.[4]

During its first few years Dawn apparently flourished and the British American Institute provided manual training for Negroes. But soon Henson was embroiled in a dispute over mismanagement. The contrast with Uncle Tom is marked. One cannot imagine the quiet Uncle Tom in dispute with anyone—but while the Dawn Settlement lasted, Henson managed somehow to be almost constantly at the centre of one fracas after another. Indeed, Henson's career was marked by constant contradiction. He claimed, in his autobiography, to have been the founder

3. Josiah Henson. *Father Henson's Story of his own Life. With an Introduction by Mrs. H. B. Stowe.* Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1858, 168.

4. Memorial U-6758, entered July 10, 1845; and Memorial 8027, entered June 16, 1846. Kent County, Ontario, Registry Office.

of the Dawn Community, yet some of his fellow Canadian Negroes denied the claim. He asserted his authority as agent for the Dawn Settlement while some of the area's Negroes insisted that he in no way represented them and their fellows in Canada—yet British abolitionists upheld his position as bona fide agent. Twice Henson was impeached for mismanagement of Dawn, and twice he was able to show that he had faithfully administered his trust. Still there is little doubt that the settlement did not progress spectacularly under his leadership. And, if his British friends had stood behind his general integrity, they nevertheless eventually sent their own representative to Canada to manage the British American Institute—a solution which ironically turned out, it would appear, no better than Henson's original leadership. To add irony to irony, the new agent and Henson became involved in a personal wrangle. Henson would have us believe it was settled in his favour; the records suggest a different end. Whatever Henson may have accomplished for the Negroes at Dawn, one cannot escape the conclusion that his years there were anything but tranquil.

In the summer of 1847 he was summoned before a Negro convention in Drummondville, C.W., for questioning.[5] A meeker and more sensitive man might have quailed before such an assembly. But if Henson lacked education, sophistication, and polish (he still made his mark with an X), he in no way showed that lack—for he answered his questioners without hesitation. He was, he said, agent for the "British American Institute in Dawn, Canada West," whose purpose, he continued, was "for any young men, to be educated at their own expense," whose business was run by an Executive Committee and a Board of Trustees, and which was supported by donations. The convention then resolved that "whereas the British American Institute in the Township of Dawn, Canada West, is not conducted to the satisfaction of the People of Colour in this Province, a Committee of five members of this Convention be appointed to audit the books and papers of said Institution—the said Committee to make an exact report of the result of their investigation to the next meeting of the People's Convention, to be held at Drummondville, in August, 1848." Finally, Henson's personal actions were brought under scrutiny. But, quite undaunted, he "rose and proceeded to satisfy the Convention in regard to his agency for the British American Institute. He handed his book to the Secretary, with an account of his intromissions since the 1st March last. This was read over to the Convention, and it showed clearly that Mr. Henson had faithfully discharged his duty to the Institution."

The Report of the 1848 Convention is lost, so the specific outcome of the investigation is not known. But that Dawn was in bad straits is

5. The account of the Drummondville Convention is taken from *Report of the Convention of the Coloured Population Held at Drummondville, August, 1847*. Toronto: [n.p.], 1847.

scarcely to be doubted. "In consequence of debts incurred during the last two years, in the midst of much sickness and affliction," Wilson wrote to William Lloyd Garrison in March, 1848, "one of the laborers here was in danger of losing the humble shelter he had fitted up with his own hands for himself and family."[6] The following September he lamented to Edmund Quincy that no one at Dawn had any credit left except Wilson himself, and that "what little substance I possess is serving me, as the basis of credit, till help shall come from some source, or my labors here terminate. This is a sad picture, but the truth must be told."[7] To give substance to Wilson's report, James C. Brown and George Johnson, Trustees of Dawn, gave public notice in December that they would not be responsible for any debts or other engagements entered into by other members of the Board of Trustees.[8]

Poor Josiah Henson—would nothing he did turn out right? His intentions were doubtless good, but his leadership was doubtless poor. William King, who was then planning his own Negro settlement, wrote that the entire Dawn project was in serious difficulties. "During the past year," King observed in 1848, "the affairs of the institution have been badly managed . . . the funds had been badly administered, and . . . religious instruction [which was Henson's particular concern] had been sadly neglected."[9] Wilson himself in his letter to Garrison had dolorously observed that "the Manual Training Institute here ran well for a season, and accomplished much good; but since my resignation [in 1847] . . . and the decease of James Cannings Fuller, one of the Trustees, it has run down, and can hardly be resuscitated again without a miracle. The property connected with it is deeply encumbered, and avails nothing in aid of education. The steam saw mill is doing no good. It has not paid the cost since it commenced running, and had better never been built. It is now [1850] out of repair and doing nothing, and yet it is more profitable than when running, unless in different hands, and under different management."[10]

Henson's troubles, however, were just beginning. In June, 1849, he was nearly impeached for mismanagement of the settlement;[11] and two years later a Negro group in the neighbouring town of Chatham charged that he had not founded a Negro colony in Canada, that he had no right to solicit money for Canadian Negroes, that he was not their accepted agent, that he was "totally unworthy" and had "proved false," and that,

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6. Hiram Wilson to William Lloyd Garrison, March 25, 1848. *The Liberator,* April 7, 1848.

7. Same to same, September 27, 1848. *The Liberator,* October 27, 1848.

8. Summary of a notice in the *Canadian Freeman,* December 28, 1848, from the notes of Professor Fred Landon, London, Ontario.

9. William King to Clerk of the Toronto Presbytery, June 21, 1848. William King Papers, Public Archives, Ottawa, Ontario.

10. Hiram Wilson to William Lloyd Garrison, February 12, 1850. *The Liberator,* March 1, 1850.

11. Hiram Wilson to J. E. Ambrose, May 6, 1851. *Voice of the Fugitive,* May 21, 1851.

so the resolutions implied, he had absconded with funds collected for the Negroes.[12]

It was not enough that Henson should find himself challenged from Chatham to Drummondville. He had, according to his story, gone off to England in 1849 to collect funds for Dawn. While he was there a London Committee under the auspices of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was formed to investigate the Canadian settlement; and John Scoble, Secretary of the Society, went to Canada and made an on-the-spot report. While Scoble was in Canada, Henson again publicly defended himself in an open meeting held at Dawn. Finally, on July 12, 1852, after he had returned a second time to England to raise funds, the London Investigating Committee resolved that he was "the duly accredited agent [in England] of the Dawn Institute, and that the charges which have been so assiduously circulated in this country against his reputation are false and calumnious. . . ."[13]

Meanwhile, however, attempts were made to revivify the settlement. Religious education had been taken over in 1850 by the Board of the American Baptist Free Mission Society, which, within a year, was operating "with increasing success."[14] Not so the British American Institute. It was, observed the Negro newspaper, *Voice of the Fugitive*, "in a languishing state. There is evidently something wrong here. Everything is going down hill, so that it is, in fact, unworthy of the name of an Institution. The party that now have it in charge, are doubtless unable to carry it on with propriety. But we are told," the *Voice* continued, "that its prospects are soon to be revived, under a new board of managers, who have not only the disposition, but the ability also, to make it just what it should be."[15] In 1852, therefore, the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society took over the management of the British American Institute. As new manager the Society dispatched John Scoble to Dawn.[16]

With Scoble's coming to Dawn, a final chapter in the strange and tortured career of Josiah Henson began to unfold. Earlier, Scoble had had high words of praise for Henson.[17] But face to face the two men simply did not get on. It is possible that Scoble was no better a manager than Henson, as future events suggested; but it is also possible that

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12. Taken from the resolutions, published in the *American Baptist,* and reprinted in *The Liberator,* April 11, 1851.

13. Resolutions of the Dawn Institute Committee (London Investigating Committee) were printed in the *Voice of the Fugitive,* August 26, 1852. See also on this Committee the report in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* (London), new series, VII (1852), 118.

14. From the May [1851] Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Reprinted in *The Liberator,* October 10, 1851.

15. *Voice of the Fugitive,* July 15, 1852.

16. *Voice of the Fugitive,* December 2, 1852. A Minute of the October 3, 1852, meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (London), read into the Abstract of the Annual Report of the Society, as printed in "Abstract of Report," *Anti-Slavery Reporter,* new series, VII (1852), 184, gives this same minute, but dates it September 3, 1852.

17. John Scoble, "Visit to the Fugitive Slaves and People of Colour in Upper Canada." *Anti-Slavery Reporter,* new series, VII (1852), 21-2.

Henson was bitter and jealous of Scoble's managership and the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society's guidance—for they at least seemed to belie any great success on Henson's part. Henson's own account of the Scoble era at Dawn (1852-68) tells much about Henson, little about Scoble. Henson, in fact, never mentions Scoble's name in relating this era of Dawn's history. Always John Scoble is merely an "English gentleman." It is possible that the silence was Henson's way of being charitable; but one is tempted to think—from the record itself—either that for his own good name he preferred to tip-toe through an unpleasant episode or that the epithet was cuttingly intentional.

That Scoble created antagonisms at Dawn there is little doubt. In January, 1859, the Chatham *Planet* reported, a public meeting at Dresden charged that "the conduct of the said Mr. Scoble . . . was distasteful to the people of this community . . . his pomp and pride of deportment, and his petu[l]ant and over-bearing spirit—was such as totally unfitted him for the office he assumed, and the work he was sent to accomplish."[18] And in November, 1860, another Dresden meeting charged him with general mismanagement and, at the same time, praised Trustee James C. Brown for having refused to do Scoble's bidding.[19] At about this same time, according to a recent account, court action was instituted to relieve Scoble of his post, an action apparently successfully concluded with his dismissal from Dawn in 1868.[20]

From Henson, however, one gets a somewhat different story. Within two years of his arrival at Dawn, according to Henson's account, Scoble had undertaken grandiose and impractical projects which were running the settlement into the ground. And about 1862-3, Henson wrote, he took Scoble to court for mismanagement of the settlement, fought him in the courts for seven years, and finally won when the defense dropped the case as a non-suit.[21]

There is no record, however, in the legal digests of any court action taken by Dawn, the British American Institute, or Henson himself against Scoble. What the court digests do show is something quite different. In 1857 Scoble lent Henson some money, none of which Henson had repaid by 1862. When Henson tried to have the contract voided, the court decided in favor of Scoble.[22] That is all the court record shows—nothing more. County Registry records however show further interesting happenings. They record a loan from Scoble to Henson in the form of an "Indenture Bargain and Sale, by way of Mortgage," dated November 1, 1855. A second loan is recorded against this same property by the same

18. Chatham, Canada West, *Planet,* February 3, 1859.
19. Chatham, Canada West, *Planet,* December 20, 1860.
20. Victor Lauriston. *Romantic Kent. More than Three Centuries of History, 1626-1952.* Chatham, Ontario: County of Kent and City of Chatham, 1952, 448-9.
21. Josiah Henson, *Autobiography,* (1879), 234-38.
22. Edward C. Jones, *Reports & Cases Decided in the Court of Common Pleas of Upper Canada; from Michaelmas Term, 25 Victoria, to Michaelmas Term, 26 Victoria.* Vol. 12. Toronto: Henry Rowsell, 1863. 65-7. See also "Scoble vs. Henson," *Upper Canada Law Journal,* 9:131.

type of legal instrument under the date of December 14, 1855. The two loans totalled almost £210. The court fight obviously involved another loan; but one is not so surprised at Scoble's action knowing that Henson was already heavily indebted to him. The entire Scoble story is still not clear—but it is certainly not the simple story Henson related; nor does Henson emerge quite the vindicated man he would have us believe.

In any event the Scoble affair was Henson's last great battle. After the court fight, the Dawn Settlement died out. Chancery Court, according to Henson, appointed a new board of Trustees, the land was sold, and the proceeds of the sale were used to found Wilberforce University in Chatham in 1872.[23] Thereafter Henson continued to live at Dawn until his death in 1883 in an old house still standing and appropriately called "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

The story of Josiah Henson is at best a fragment, incomplete and exasperatingly contradictory. About all that one can conclude with any degree of certainty is that Henson was instrumental in the establishing and running of the Dawn community, that he was a man of action and of vision, that he did undoubtedly contribute much to the improvement of his fellow Negroes. One may reasonably conclude that the Dawn settlement did enjoy a moderate success, but that Henson was an inefficient manager at best. One must also conclude, perhaps tentatively, that Henson, for all his good works and laudable aims, was possibly a bit devious. Even William King of the nearby Elgin Settlement, whom one finds it hard to suspect of ungenerous commentary, called Henson a shrewd man, "more than a match for anyone that ever tried to curb his authority, or to call him to account, for the way in which he administered the affairs of the [Dawn] settlement."[24] Uncle Tom was simple and predictable. Josiah Henson, the real person, remains, still, a mystery.

There is little mystery, however, about the real-life Clayton. Like Josiah Henson, the Reverend William King left an autobiography. One may also consult his numerous private papers and a considerable body of published documents. Nor is there any doubt whom Mrs. Stowe had in mind when she created Clayton—the story itself suggests the identification, and the author verified that identification in a note to her text.

The Reverend William King, born in Ireland in 1812 and college-trained at Edinburgh, came with his family in the early 1830's to the Ohio country and moved to Louisiana in 1836. There he was first rector of a "select school composed of a few Planters families," and in 1841 became Superintendent of the preparatory division of the state college. While in Louisiana, King acquired three slaves to help around the "select

23. Lauriston, *Romantic Kent,* 449. J. George Hodgins, *Historical and other Papers and Documents Illustrative of the Educational System of Ontario, 1853-1868.* Toronto: L. K. Cameron, 1911. III, 110.

24. [William King to J. C. Hamilton, ca. 1889]. Letter fragment in possession of Fred Landon, London, Ontario.

school"; and later a fourth slave through his wife, the daughter of a plantation owner.[25]

Like his counterpart, King was an ideal master for his slaves; yet, also like Clayton, he began to feel himself trapped, trapped by the moral stultification of a system that was spiritually depressing and socially degrading. Clayton himself had turned his plantation into a "school for emancipation" in which he could "educate and fit" his Negroes "for freedom." His plantation was "a sphere for raising *men* and *women,* and demonstrating the capabilities of a race. . . ."[26] But Clayton could not succeed in the South. Although his friends and neighbours might sympathize with his altruism and idealism, and although they liked and respected him as the staunch scion of an old family, they could not tolerate in their midst an experiment which threatened their entire social structure. Clayton therefore colonized his slaves in Canada and there trained them for freedom.[27]

The story of Edward Clayton as fiction reflects the story of William King as fact. Disgusted with slavery and unhappy as a slaveowner, King gave up teaching and returned with his family to Edinburgh. There he studied theology and, in 1846, was appointed missionary to Canada by the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland. His immediate family had, meanwhile, all died; and King, by purchase and inheritance, now had fifteen slaves. Well aware that in the North America of the 1840's and 1850's Canada was the only place in which the Negro was legally protected in his freedom and in which that freedom was, by and large, respected, King resolved to colonize his slaves in Canada and to labour both as missionary and leader for the Negroes. In 1848-49 he assembled an interested group of Canadian citizens, largely from the Toronto area, who secured land for sale at low cost and by instalment to the Negroes, and who served as trustees for the Elgin Settlement, as the colony was known. After considerable negotiating, land searching and discussion, the first Negroes, William King at their head, settled on the land. Eight months later, in August, 1850, the Elgin Association was chartered by Act of Canadian Parliament.[28]

The settlement itself was an autonomous unit—segregated from the white community and virtually self-supporting—living an experimental, educational, and utopian existence all its own; for only in an organized

25. Background for King's early years can best be traced in his MS autobiography, King Papers, Public Archives, Ottawa, Ontario. See also correspondence in this collection, e.g., King to Rev. Dr. Cunningham, April 6, 1847, copy; also Annie Straith Jamieson. *William King, Friend and Champion of Slaves.* Toronto: Missions of Evangelism, 1925.

26. Harriet Beecher Stowe. *Dred, A Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp.* 2 vols. Boston: Phillips, Sampson and Company, 1856. I, 27-9.

27. *Ibid.,* II, 330-1.

28. Two convenient sources for general background are the *Fifth Annual Report of the Directors of the Elgin Association.* . . . (1854), which includes the Act of Incorporation as well as the Association's Constitution; and *A Sketch of the Buxton Mission and Elgin Settlement, Raleigh, Canada West.* Birmingham: J. S. Wilson, [ca. 1866].

community, King believed, could the Negro have a good home, his children a good school. Only in such a community could he be educated "not only for time, but for eternity."[29] The Elgin Settlement was not, however, isolated from the outside world, for many Negroes worked on neighbourhood farms or on nearby railroad construction. More of them, however, farmed their own clearings; and many of them worked in a variety of industrial enterprises within the settlement.

King was keenly aware that even in a small community a balanced economy was essential for general welfare. In 1852, therefore, he and several other persons organized the Canada Mill and Mercantile Company, the first project of which was the building of a steam saw mill at Elgin. King himself went to Detroit and purchased, from DeGraff and Kendrick, the necessary machinery. At about the same time he purchased a Noyes Portable Corn Mill (in Cincinnati). Soon it was grinding not only the settlement grain but also grain from "many of the neighbours around." King also imported a man named Gates from Delta, Ohio, to operate a pot and pearl ash factory. Gates taught the settlers the art of converting wood ashes into black salts, which he then purchased from them as raw material for the factory. King, furthermore, encouraged the building of a brick yard which, during its first year of operation, produced between 250,000 and 300,000 bricks for use in the settlement and for sale in the surrounding area. The various enterprises, all operating by 1856, also included a two-story brick temperance hotel, a "female boarding house," a general store, a carpenters' and joiners' shop, and a boot and shoe store. King thus had provided the means, as he put it, for the Negroes to earn, within the settlement, the money necessary to buy "groceries and clothing."[30]

William King, entrepreneur, was also William King, educator. He encouraged the establishment of several post offices in the vicinity, one of them at Buxton itself, where he became the post master. "As soon as the new [post] offices were established," he observed, "the people began to write letters and to get newspapers, to read and know something of what was going on in the world around them." More importantly, he oversaw the general education of children and adults alike. When the settlement was at its height, there were four separate schools in the district, some with permanent teachers, others with practice teachers from Knox College in Toronto. King conducted an adult evening school. To his classes came people from outside the settlement—many of them preparing to teach in the public school system of Kent County. The need was great, for, as King observed, many of his students "were then teach-

29. [Draft of Plan for a Negro Settlement, 1848], King Papers. Also an "Abstract of the Testimony of Rev. William King," in Samuel Gridley Howe, "The Refugees from Slavery in Canada West," *Report to the Freedmen's Inquiry Commission.* Boston: Wright and Potter, 1864.

30. The preceding entrepreneurial information can be found in the following places: *Voice of the Fugitive,* April 22, 1852; Seventh Annual Report of the Elgin Association (1856); and King's MS autobiography, 371-8.

ing who had an imperfect knowledge even of those [basic] branches [English, geography, arithmetic, reading, and writing]. The examination [by which the students had obtained their original teaching certificates] were not very strict, they were not written at first . . . and if the candidate could give anything like a fair answer to the questions asked, he was passed and got a certificate to teach." It was King's aim, in short, to provide the settlers themselves with a basic education and to provide good educational facilities for the surrounding community. Such was his success that a number of Canadian Negro families, like the William R. Abbotts of Toronto, moved into the settlement, and many white inhabitants of the vicinity did not cavil to send their own children to coloured schools better than their own.[31]

As agent for the Free Presbyterian Church, King was also missionary for the Elgin Negroes. The Buxton Mission was directly sponsored by the Toronto Synod and was organized when the settlement began. Edward Clayton, observing the need for religious training on his own plantation, had said that the Negroes "must not be left an ignorant set. . . . They must be taught to read the Scriptures for themselves, and be able to see that my authority accords with it."[32] William King expanded that idea, observing to the Reverend John Bonnar of the Colonial Committee of the Free Church of Scotland that

> missionaries have been sent to the Indians, Missionaries have been sent to the French, but the Coloured Man who had fled to us from bondage had been permitted to remain in that degraded Condition, in which Slavery had left him, No Man seemed to care for his Soul. Our Church has come forward to occupy this field of labour, and has resolved to establish a mission in the Western part of the Province for their benefit.[33]

This was the Buxton Mission.

To help the Mission King travelled extensively, explaining its work and soliciting funds. In November, 1850, he and Dr. Robert Burns of Toronto raised money in the Pittsburgh area, collecting a "handsome subscription for the mission, and a fine-toned bell, sent expressly for Buxton, and paid for by the coloured people [of Pittsburgh]."[34] About a year later he toured Michigan and visited Chicago.[35] The Mission was a great success. In 1858 the Buxton Church was officially organized and plans were begun for adding new buildings.[36] To raise the needed money King lectured

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31. In addition to various annual reports and other printed sources already cited, see King, MS autobiography, 316-21; *Voice of the Fugitive,* July 15, 1852; Extract from the Eighth Annual Report of the Elgin Association in *The Ecclesiastical and Missionary Record for the Presbyterian Church in Canada,* XIV (1857-8), 120.

32. Stowe, *Dred,* I, 195-7.

33. William King to Rev. J[ohn] Bonnar, July 15, 1849. King Papers.

34. Robert F. Burns. *The Life and Times of Rev. Robert Burns, Toronto, Incuding an Unfinished Autobiography* . . . Toronto: James Campbell & Son, 1872, 281-3.

35. *Ecclesiastical and Missionary Record.* . . . VII (1851), 68.

36. Alexander F. Kemp. *Digest of the Minutes of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada* . . . Montreal: John Lovell, 1861. Minutes, 1858, 1859. Session Book of the Buxton Congregation (1858-1880), in Kent Historical Society, Chatham, Ontario. *Ecclesiastical and Missionary Record* . . . XIV (1857-8), 120.

in Ireland, Scotland, and England. At last, in 1868, the cornerstone for a new church was laid and two years later the church itself was completed.[37]

The Buxton Mission not only supervised the religious education of the Negroes; it also managed the secular schools in the settlement; and King hoped that it would train Negroes for missionary work in Africa. "When Ethiopia stretches forth her hands to God her own sons trained in Canada may be the honoured instruments in carrying religion and civilization to their benighted countrymen."[38]

The Negro settlers were a prosperous group. Even the sporadic and vicious attacks of the anti-Negro agitator Edwin Larwill of Chatham or the later attempt to link King with financial corruption failed to disrupt their progress. Elgin had grown from the original fifteen slaves to a settlement of over one thousand persons. By the middle of the 1860's it boasted over sixteen hundred cultivated acres of land, more than fifteen hundred head of livestock. It supported various industries, several schools and a mission station which had trained over one thousand students, and three churches in addition to the mission church itself. William King, as the creator and leader of the settlement, was implicitly obeyed and equally loved. If the settlement seemed a benevolent paternalism where prizes were awarded for the best built houses, the best kept property, or the neatest gardens, still it is hard to conceive of the experiment's being conducted in much different fashion.[39]

With the coming of the American Civil War, however, the usefulness of King's enterprise declined. At least seventy of the Elgin Negroes returned to the States to fight with the Union forces, and, with the return of peace, many of the Negroes who had fled to Canada during the 1840's and the 1850's returned to their native land. The Elgin experiment had by this time fulfilled its expressed purpose—and fulfilled it well. "Sixteen years ago," observed Samuel Gridley Howe in 1863,

> it was a wilderness. Now, good highways are laid out in all directions through the forest; and by their side . . . are about two hundred cottages . . . all looking neat and comfortable. Around each one is a cleared space, of several acres, which is well cultivated. The fences are in good order; the barns seem well filled; and cattle, and horses, and pigs, and poultry, abound. There are signs of industry, and thrift, and comfort, every where; signs of intemperance, of idleness, of want, nowhere. . . . Most interesting of all are the inhabitants. Twenty years ago, most of them were slaves, who owned nothing, not even their children. Now they own themselves; they own their houses and farms, and they have their wives and children about them. They are enfranchised citizens of a government which protects their rights. They have the great essentials for human happiness, "something to love, something to do, and something to hope for;" and if they are not happy, it is their own fault.[40]

37. Chatham *Planet*, September 30, 1868. *Proceedings of the First General Assembly of the Canada Presbyterian Church.* Toronto: [n.p.], 1870, 44.

38. William King to J[ohn] Bonnar, July 15, 1849. King Papers.

39. Statistical information can be found in the various annual reports of the Elgin Association; in the minutes of the annual convention of the Presbyterian Church in Canada; in Benjamin Drew, *A North-Side View of Slavery* . . . Boston: J. P. Jewett & Co., 1856; and Howe, "Refugees from Slavery . . ."

40. Howe, "Refugees from Slavery . . . ," 70-1.

William King could scarcely have asked a greater tribute to the success of an idea which he had so generously undertaken more than a decade earlier.

With the final closing of the settlement in 1873, the year in which the Elgin Association rendered its last official report, the end of an era in experimentation had been reached. King himself stayed on in Ontario for the rest of his life, living for a number of years in Buxton, moving eventually into Chatham. It is a tribute to his vision that among Canadians at least the real life Clayton is better remembered than the fictional character.

In the accounts of Uncle Tom and Clayton and in the historical drama of Josiah Henson and William King, the threads of fact, fiction, and mystery have become inextricably combined. Harriet Beecher Stowe knew the stories of the men who served her as models for her fictions, but only the barest outlines of these stories did she utilize in constructing from the recesses of her imagination her novels of the slavery crisis. Her stories are part of the American heritage. But so too are the more exciting fact and mystery of the real life Uncle Tom and Clayton.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

William H. Pease, a member of the Department of History at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, N.Y., has spent the past year as Visiting Professor of History at the Case Institute of Technology in Cleveland, Ohio.

Erik Heyl of Buffalo, N.Y., is well-known for his writings and drawings in the field of marine history and has published two volumes entitled "Early American Steamers".

Richard A. Preston, Professor of History, Royal Military College, Kingston, has written widely in many fields of Canadian history. He is co-author, with L. Lamontagne, of the forthcoming volume on early Kingston in the Ontario Local Histories Series.

Charles W. Humphries is a graduate student in the Department of History, University of Toronto.

Andrew W. Taylor is head of the Museums Section of the Ontario Historical Society, Administrator of the Ontario Pioneer Community near Doon, and a student of the history of that neighborhood.

THE ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S PROGRAMME AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ONTARIO EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

A noteworthy recent activity of the Ontario Historical Society was the arranging of a display and a programme at the meeting of the History Section of the Ontario Educational Association, held at the University of Toronto on April 8 and 9 last. Its purpose was to acquaint history teachers with the Society's functions and to enlist their co-operation in encouraging an interest among pupils in the history of their own province. The handsome display, arranged by Miss Ruth Home and Miss Edna Ash, included several well-executed sketches, a map of Ontario showing the locations of local historical societies and museums, and a collection of the papers and publications of the Ontario Historical Society. Miss Ash, who was in attendance, reported that it aroused considerable interest from convention visitors.

The Society sponsored the morning session of Wednesday, April 9, which featured an address by Edward Roth of Cooperstown, New York, on "The Junior Historian Movement". Mr. Roth is a recognized authority in this field by virtue of his experience in connection with the Cooperstown Museum, the junior historian movement of New York state, and the fine junior periodical, the Yorker Magazine, as well as through his wide knowledge, gained through correspondence and visits, of activities elsewhere in the United States and Canada.

In his introduction Mr. Roth stressed the national and personal values to be gained by the study of local history—the significance of local history in developing a sense of identity through its stress of a common heritage and ideals. Such study would prepare future citizens for life in a world community characterized by incessant technological and social changes. By indicating the currents from abroad which have shaped the local community it can assist world citizenship; and it can impart a sense of historical perspective, a confidence to face problems of the future through instilling in them a consciousness of the strength of their roots in the past. The junior historian movement should be educative, preparing young people for adulthood and its leisure, and offering a bold point of departure for proper consideration of the future—"a forward look at the past".

Mr. Roth went on to discuss junior work in his own state. Here the Department of Education launched a programme during the early 1940's and made New York history a compulsory subject in grades seven and eight. Under the direction of Dr. Clifford Lord and Miss Mary Cunningham a system of junior memberships in the New York State Historical Association was initiated with local chapters being formed mainly through the schools. Each chapter must include at least five children and an adult sponsor, the children paying annual dues of 50c (later increased to $1.00) towards maintenance of the central organization at Cooperstown. The dues are more to give children a sense of the organization's value than

for securing revenue. Today there are 150 chapters with over 5,500 junior members and more than 500 individual members. The members receive an annual subscription to the Yorker Magazine, published five times a year, containing notes and articles on New York history and on the progress of the general organization and of local clubs. The children themselves often contribute articles and the fifth number of this year is to be composed entirely of junior members' work. Members also secure a felt Yorker crest and a membership certificate, the chapters receive a monthly letter from the Cooperstown headquarters, and a pen-pal list of over 2,000 names is available. Several cases of museum materials are also circulated among junior clubs at a nominal fee plus express charges.

Individual chapters are responsible for their own meetings and activities. These include compiling local histories (eight have been published thus far), operating historical newspapers, contributing to radio and television programs, developing museum collections, making tours of museums and historic sites, and working for the proper marking and preservation of such sites.

The highlight of the New York movement is the annual meeting in May, this year's being scheduled for May 9 and 10 at Rochester. Last year Lake Placid saw more than 3,000 excited, enthusiastic children from grades seven to twelve in attendance, and a most enjoyable time was spent putting up exhibits, making individual and chapter awards, and visiting the historic sites of the area. The entire state is divided in ten zones which in turn have zone meetings, regional organizations and awards.

The success of the New York programme is a tribute, above all, to the great work done by many local sponsors in forming and assisting the operation of the clubs.

Mr. Roth next described three junior movements in which the initiative and sponsorship has rested with regional historical societies. In 1956 the Manitoba Historical Society began to found local chapters and launched a club magazine which appears thrice yearly and is distributed free to all schools. According to Mr. Roth's information, there are 32 junior clubs in the schools with 575 student and over 40 adult members. The parent society is underwriting the operating and publishing expenses of the project. In Illinois the state Historical Society acts as sponsor with the state providing a director and other assistance. The emphasis here is upon a 24-page junior historical magazine to which students submit essays on designated subjects and professional historians contribute articles on various aspects of state history; and little has been done to form chapters in the schools. The work of the Indiana Historical Society, the pioneer in the field (1938), now is faltering. There are 20 high-school chapters and a 4-page leaflet is published.

Mr. Roth next outlined the activity of six states where, as in New York, agencies of government operate the junior historical programmes.

The Michigan Historical Commission sponsors the teaching of state and local history as a grade ten optional subject, supervising the training of teachers in Michigan history at the state teachers colleges, and publishing and supplying historical materials, filmstrips, and other teaching aids. In Minnesota, where state history is a sixth grade subject, the magazine is designed for this level and because of the immaturity of the children there is little local chapter activity. Since 1953 the North Carolina Department of Archives has sponsored a Tarheel Junior Historical Association. However there is no specific budgetary appropriation for the work and the programme is not very active though an average of 36 junior clubs function each year. It is much the same story with Pennsylvania where the work is directed by the Department of Public Instruction without specific funds for the purpose and the Department's advisor is working with little success to keep the school chapters active.

The most noteworthy junior programmes, besides New York's, are those of Texas and Wisconsin. In Texas it is directed at the grade twelve level and consequently achieves a much higher standard of academic attainment than is reached elsewhere. For example the junior magazine, now in its eighteenth year, receives each year from pupils some 350 to 400 articles of commendable quality from the standpoint of research and writing, and it affords a valuable training ground for future historians. Wisconsin's programme is much the largest, boasting 23,000 members in 1,200 chapters, and enjoying state appropriations totalling $44,000 for the elementary and high school programmes. Members pay 25c annual dues and receive nine issues of the junior magazine each year. This association is extremely active, organizing contests, conventions, local projects, and is a most successful operation of its type.

Mr. Roth concluded his address by emphasizing that junior historical work may follow any number of differing patterns, as witness the activities he outlined. In Ontario, he recognized, a junior programme would face many serious problems—not least being the immensity and diversity of the province and its people. But, he hoped, the magnitude of the problem would encourage greater endeavours.

A discussion followed, and in response to questions Mr. Roth elaborated upon various aspects of the New York programme and discussed the possibilities open to interested organizations of initiating and directing a junior historian movement in Ontario. Above all he stressed the importance of making some tangible beginning even in a small way in order to awaken interest and enlist support, and also to learn through experience the approach most suited to local conditions for organizing and developing large-scale, long-range activity.

THE *WILMINGTON-PROVINCIAL,* ATLANTIC COASTAL STEAMER AND TORONTO YACHT CLUBHOUSE

By Erik Heyl

This sketch is not presented as complete in all essential details, but on the contrary, primarily because of a lack of certain information arising from the loss and destruction of official records and in the hope that some reader may be able to supply some of the missing pieces of a marine jig-saw picture.

By the late 1830's a considerable number of railroads had been placed in operation inland from Atlantic ports of the United States. Prominent and among the largest of these were the South Carolina Railroad Company, out of Charleston, S.C., and the Wilmington and Raleigh Rail Road Company from Wilmington to Raleigh, N.C. Both were designed as feeder lines for the seaborne commerce of the two ports. In addition the latter road operated a connecting service by water between Wilmington and Charleston. By 1838 its business had come to warrant the purchase of three steamboats, *Governor Dudley, North Carolina,* and *C. Vanderbilt* for this operation. In 1839 a fourth steamboat, *Wilmington,* the subject of this study, was added to the fleet, as appears from the following extract from the Minutes of the Third Annual Meeting of Stockholders of the Company in May 1839:

> The Company own at this time three steamboats of the first class, two of which have been built since your last annual meeting, and have contracted for a fourth Boat, which will be on the line early in June. Three Boats are ordinarily sufficient for a daily line between Wilmington and Charleston, but having contracted to carry the great mail, a fourth is necessary to guard against accidents. There is, however, no disadvantage in procuring at once an ample supply of Boats and Engines, as by a judicious distribution of the service to be performed by them, they will be kept in perfect repair, and their value but little impaired.

The *Wilmington* was constructed at Baltimore, Maryland, by Langley B. Culley; the vertical beam engine by Watchman and Bratt, the well-known engine-builders of the same city. In the first enrollment, No. 146, issued at Baltimore on September 4, 1839, she is described as a steamboat with one deck, no masts, a round tuck and stern, no galleries, a billet head, with measurements of 171' 10" by 24' 9" by 9' 11", and a gross tonnage of 455 58/95 tons. Oddly enough, Watchman and Bratt are given as the owners, no doubt because the firm supervised the building of the boat and also had close relations with the Wilmington and Raleigh Rail Road Company in connection with the latter's locomotives and rolling stock.

On January 25, 1840 this Baltimore enrollment was surrendered at Wilmington because of a change of owners. Enrollments were issued anew at Wilmington on August 1, 1840; November 12, 1847; and in

September 1852. Unfortunately the originals of these documents were all destroyed by fire in 1886, when a conflagration devastated about one-quarter of Wilmington, including the railway headquarters, custom house and other public buildings. The loss of the original records and the custom-house copy left as the only surviving registration the so-called Master Abstract at Washington, which has no entries in the ownership column.[1] The last American documentation of *Wilmington* was an enrollment issued at Charleston, S.C., April 12, 1854, which was cancelled because the vessel was "sold foreign" at Boston on May 5, 1854.

During these years the *Wilmington* served as part of the integrated transportation system operated by the Wilmington and Raleigh Rail Road Company. When on March 7, 1840 the last spike was driven and the road became operative in its entire length of 161½ miles, the Company's transportation stock comprised four steamboats, twelve locomotives, eight 8-wheel passenger cars, four post-office cars, and fifty freight cars. The train schedule was always adjusted to the time of arrival or departure of the steamboats to or from Charleston, and this in turn was dependent on the state of the tide, the maximum variation being as much as an hour.

The *Wilmington* quickly became the most popular of the four steamboats. All the vessels were used for excursion parties during their layovers at Wilmington, but the *Wilmington* was always chosen for the big annual Fourth of July and Watermelon Picnics. Because of her reliability she was in continuous service until the summer of 1852, when for a month she was missing from the sailing notices undergoing a major overhaul costing about $20,000. It is impossible to state what these repairs or alterations might have been. Had the hull been changed or additional decks been built this would have shown in the dimensions and tonnage in the enrollments, but these measurements were identical from the first record in 1839 to the last documentation of 1854.

After the completion of the overhaul *Wilmington* resumed the Wilmington-Charleston run until April 12, 1854 when she was purchased by Frederick C. Matthiessen, Robert Gourdin and Henry Gourdin, doing business under the name of Gourdin, Matthiessen and Company, factors and commission merchants of Charleston, her new home port. But just three weeks later, on May 2, 1854 *Wilmington* arrived at Boston and on May 5, as the Boston *Journal* of the following day reported, the "Steamer Wilmington, late of Charleston, has been sold to the British Provinces".

For fourteen years *Wilmington* had steamed under the American flag; now the second half of the steamboat's career began. For another fourteen years she was to operate under the British red duster under the name of *Provincial.* The first specific mention of her is on September

1. Apparently the failure to record owners' names in the Master Abstract was through carelessness; usually they are given. In the case of the *Wilmington* the omission may have been caused by the destruction of the custom house records.

20, 1854, when she was offered for sale in the Toronto *Leader,* the advertisement reading as follows:

FOR SALE
By Private Contract
The fine sea-going, coppered, and copper fastened
STEAMER
Provincial
late
Wilmington
J. Rudolph, Master

This vessel was favourably known for several years on the Atlantic route from Wilmington to Charleston, South Carolina, and was only parted with from that employment in consequence of the completion of a Railway between these cities. She was built at Baltimore of live oak and cedar, and had a very thorough repair, amounting to more than $20,000 at Wilmington in the fall of 1852. She is abundantly found with all description of furniture as a passenger vessel, has two of Francis' Life Boats, a Launch and 98 Life Preservers.

Cylinder, 48 inches — 10 feet stroke.

Edward G. O'Brien
Secretary
Provincial Insurance Office

Toronto St., Sep. 2, 1854

The Provincial Insurance Company was incorporated in May 1849 as a mutual company, its purpose being stated as enabling parties who were owners of, or interested in, property in country places and comparatively safe from fire, to insure each other, and also to conduct the business of fire, marine and life insurance.

The reasons why the company became owners of the *Provincial* are unknown and could not be ascertained in the absence of any records at the Ontario Archives or the Public Archives of Canada. Two hypotheses may be advanced—first, that the company became a surety for the payment of customs duties by the original purchasers in Boston; or second (and more likely), that the company bought *Provincial* directly from Gourdon, Matthiessen and Company intending to use her as a salvage and wrecking steamer on Lake Ontario. This theory is supported by a statement in the minutes of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club that the *Provincial* had been a lake passenger steamer and a wrecker before its purchase by the club. At this time the Aetna Insurance Company was operating the wrecking propellor *Salvor* on the upper lakes out of Chicago and it may have been thought necessary to have a similar service on Lake Ontario as well.

For the next few years the fate of the *Provincial* is obscure.[2] To whom she was sold in 1854 or what use was made of her is unknown.

2. The difficulty in tracing the history of the *Provincial* at this time results from the disappearance of the Toronto Shipping Registers for the years prior to 1874, the Public Archives of Canada having in its possession only those from 1874 to 1888. If these registers could be found they would shed an enormous amount of light on the marine history of Lake Ontario around the period of Confederation. The writer would welcome any information on their possible whereabouts. It should be noted that in the absence of official records covering both the American and the Canadian careers of the *Wilmington-Provincial* he has been compelled to rely on newspaper accounts and upon incidental remarks in various books and local histories.

Judging from the picture of *Provincial* in the John Ross Robertson collection at the Toronto Public Library she became an excursion boat, probably operating out of Toronto though no reference has been found to indicate that she was operating on any of the regularly scheduled routes between various Lake Ontario ports. Mr. C. H. J. Snider of Toronto has advised the writer that his pen and ink drawing was based upon an old photograph or picture made at the time *Provincial* was in service.

On April 13, 1857 *Provincial* was again advertised for sale at public auction on April 18th at Brost's Wharf, Toronto, the notice stating that she had been used as a wrecker "and having been recently repaired for $11,000." The advertisement was signed "Edward Dartnell, Manager." From 1858 we are on firmer ground, for it was in this year that the Royal Canadian Yacht Club of Toronto bought *Provincial.* Until then the clubhouse proper had been a structure erected on a scow moored near Rees' Wharf. But a combination of muskrats and weather had so seriously played havoc with the structure that it had to be abandoned. The *Provincial,* minus machinery, boilers, masts, paddle-wheels and superstructure, was acquired and made into quarters for the club. What was left of the staterooms and cabins was converted into social rooms, lockers, dining room and kitchen, plus storage space.

Strangely enough, the minutes of the Club state that *Provincial* was bought at Buffalo in 1858 and brought to Toronto. Here indeed is a mystery! How could a hull 171' 10" long, United States dimensions, or 184' long over-all, Canadian dimensions, have passed through the Welland Canal having a minimum length of lock of 150 feet?[3] Furthermore she was not listed in the Buffalo custom-house register for 1857 and 1858 nor was she mentioned in Buffalo newspapers. Besides, why should a vessel stationed at Toronto be taken to Buffalo and then returned to Toronto?

Be that as it may, *Provincial* was put out to pasture and spent her last ten years in a calm and serene existence at her wharf. But she still was restless, and every once in a while, especially in winter when things became particularly monotonous, she would get loose from her moorings and drift around Toronto harbour. It then became necessary for the caretaker to enlist a party to fetch the wanderer home. How far these nocturnal winter excursions may have been aided and abetted by practical jokers and convivial club members can only be suspected. Her final end came in the winter of 1868 when she went adrift and became caught in ice which proved too much for the old planking. Her ribs were stove in and the yacht club sank then and there. Later the wreck of the one-time excursion steamboat was blown up and removed to avoid becoming a hazard to navigation.

3. The only way *Provincial* could have passed through the canal would have been to cut her in half and float the two sections through separately after her sidewheels had been unshipped and guards removed, obviously a costly job and not warranted in view of the vessel's age.

BROAD PENNANTS ON POINT FREDERICK

By Richard A. Preston

[This article was prepared in the first instance for the *R.M.C. Review* which is available only to students and graduates of the Royal Military College, Kingston. We thank Dr. Preston and the Editor of the *R.M.C. Review* for permitting its publication in *Ontario History*.]

On August 8, 1957, a new page was written in the history of the Royal Military College of Canada when Commodore Piers' pennant was hoisted to the masthead on the college parade square. For the first time a naval officer commanded the college. But history has a habit of being a repetition. Though this was the first time the college had had a naval commandant, it was not the first time that a naval commodore had commanded on Point Frederick. For nearly a century, before the College was established, the Point was under naval command; and for much of that time the commanding officer was a commodore.

In the eighteenth century "commodore" was not a rank but a "post" or appointment. The title was bestowed by the Admiralty upon the captain commanding a squadron of ships or a division of a fleet, or on the commander-in-chief of a small station, who thus gained the right to fly the coveted "burgee" or broad pennant. Despite his appointment by the Admiralty, the "commodore" had no recognised legal status in the eyes of the sovereign until, in 1747, the Lords of the Admiralty "insidiously" trapped the Lords of the Council into ranking a commodore with an army brigadier. Hence for sixty years a naval officer who had no legal existence was ranked with a perfectly legal soldier. Nelson was a commodore of this Gilbertian kind and in this "rank" achieved some of his greatest successes. But not until 1806 was "commodore" recognised officially as a rank and, even then, only with certain qualifications which made it something less than a full rank like captain and admiral.[1]

The anomolous position of the commodore at the end of the eighteenth century is one reason why it is sometimes difficult to discover whether the naval officer commanding on Point Frederick at any particular time had the right to fly the broad pennant. Early naval lists do not always show when an officer held this rank.

Fortunately we are not faced with the additional difficulty of having have a rank quite like the British commodore. Furthermore, La Broquerie, to reach back into the period of the French regime. The French did not who commanded the French squadron on Lake Ontario during the Seven Years' War, operated from a little bay, now filled in, on the west bank of the Cataraqui River, slightly to the north of Fort Frontenac. Point

1. Michael Lewis, *England's Sea-Officers: The Story of the Naval Profession* (London, 1948), 187-91.

Frederick, then called Pointe de Montreal, was used only as a quarry for stone; and it was the site of a small redoubt.[2]

Another difficulty impedes efforts to name the first commodore on Point Frederick. In the early days the British naval forces on the lakes were not part of the Royal Navy but were established and controlled by the army and manned partly by personnel borrowed from the navy, partly by soldiers, and partly by direct recruitment of Great Lakes sailors.[3] This force was known as the Provincial Marine. It followed the practices and rank structure of the Royal Navy, but with some flexibility. The senior officer in command on a particular lake, is often described by later writers as a "commodore",[4] and he was even so styled in official contemporary correspondence and documents.[5] But that title was not recognised in commissions of appointment where these officers were designated "Commissioner" and "Senior Naval Officer", titles which carried on into later periods when the Royal Navy was in control.[6]

A further obstacle in deciding who was the first commodore on Point Frederick is created by the fact that it is not easy to say when the Provincial Marine moved its Ontario base from Carleton Island, where it had been established during the American War, to Kingston. Major John Ross of the 34th Regiment was responsible for settling the Loyalists at Cataraqui between 1783 and 1785; and the merchants who handled transhipment of stores at Carleton Island (using Provincial Marine vessels for transportation on Lake Ontario) quickly followed him and built wharves and warehouses near old Fort Frontenac. However, a map found among Ross's correspondence in the Haldimand Papers shows a wharf on Point Frederick;[7] and we know that he at first preferred either Point Frederick or Point Henry to the west side of the Cataraqui as the site of the military post, naval establishment, and even for the site of a town.[8] It seems possible, therefore, that as early as 1784 or 1785 the Provincial Marine used Navy Bay and Point Frederick in preference to the west bank of the Cataraqui. In 1785, to the annoyance of the merchants, the place of transhipment for government stores was relocated at Carleton Island; but four years later the Provincial Marine was back on Point Frederick and was building ships there. Though there continued to be opposition to the choice of that site for the naval base

2. R. A. Preston, "The Port of Kingston", *Ontario History,* XLVI, 202; Public Archives of Canada, Map Division, Map from the *Archives Nationales,* JJ 75, Piece 147; Preston and Lamontagne, *Royal Fort Frontenac* (Toronto, 1958), 251.

3. G. F. G. Stanley, "The Army Origin of the Royal Canadian Navy", *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research,* XXXIII, 130.

4. Charles Blue, "The Wooden Walls of Canada", *The Canadian Magazine,* XLI, May, 1913, 3.

5. Historical Section of the General Staff, ed., *A History of the Organization, Development and Services of the Military and Naval Forces of Canada . . .* (Ottawa, 1920), II, 192; William Wood, *Select British Documents of the War of 1812* (Toronto, 1920), I, 250, 254.

6. P.A.C., Haldimand Papers, B96, 113-5. Captain John Schank was not satisfied with the rank of Commissioner and asked to be designated a Commanding Officer, B141, 4, (July 6, 1778).

7. *Ibid.,* B126, 167.

8. *Ibid.,* B124, 42-44, 91-94.

for Lake Ontario, the decision taken in the 1780's was never again altered. Point Frederick became the permanent Lake Ontario base of the British naval establishment and the headquarters of the senior naval officer on all the Great Lakes.[9]

After the American Revolutionary War the function of the Provincial Marine was chiefly restricted to the carriage of troops and supplies to the upper posts. The "commodores" on the Lakes were men who had served with distinction during the late war. Rene Hypolite Pepin *dit* Laforce, one of La Broquerie's officers who took the oath of allegiance to King George III, was appointed to command on Lake Ontario on November 15, 1780 after Captain Andrews was drowned in the *Ontario*. Laforce retired on half-pay in 1786 and so may have been the first naval officer to command on Point Frederick. After his retirement, Laforce was given the task of surveying the south shore of Lake Ontario. It is from his journal around the lake on this business that we have evidence of the existence of a dockyard on Point Frederick in 1789.[10]

The officers who commanded the Provincial Marine on Lake Ontario after Laforce were David Betton (or Beaton) 1786 to 1802, Jean-Baptiste Bouchette 1802-04, John Steel 1804-12, and Hugh Earle (or Earl) 1812-13. The best known of these is Bouchette, the father of Joseph Bouchette who surveyed and described both the lower and upper province. "Commodore" Bouchette was a French-Canadian skipper who fitted out and armed his own schooner for His Majesty's service during the American War. When she was burned by the rebels he became a lieutenant of militia and served during the siege of Montreal, 1775-6. Bouchette aided Carleton to escape from Montreal to Quebec and for this service was given command of the armed schooner *Hope* in 1776. A year later he commanded the *Seneca* on Lake Ontario. Discharged in 1784, he was re-appointed a master and commander in the Provincial Marine in 1791; and when Betton retired he succeeded to the command on Lake Ontario.[11]

For transportation purposes the Marine used lightly-armed topsail schooners. A three-masted square-rigged ship, the *Royal George,* designed specifically for war, was built on Point Frederick in 1809 but she was not immediately commissioned. She was constructed because relations with the United States were rapidly deteriorating. The fitness of the Provincial Marine to fight a war was considered by competent observers to be doubtful, particularly as the Revolutionary War commanders, who still held the chief commands, were getting past the age for active service. Colonel Isaac Brock therefore recommended the retirement of 75-year-old Commodore Steel on Lake Ontario and 85-year-old Commodore Grant on Lake Erie. His recommendation that the command on Ontario should be given to Lieutenant Hugh Earle, a son-in-law of Molly Brant who had

9. R. A. Preston, *Kingston Before 1812* (Champlain Society, Toronto. To be published 1959), Introduction, Chapters D and G.

10. P.A.C., Haldimand Papers, B143, 102, 103; Q 47-1, 140.

11. B. Sulte, "Jean-Baptiste Bouchette", *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,* 1908, I, 79; E. Fabre-Surveyor, "The Bouchette Family", *Royal Society of Canada,* 1941, II, 135; P.A.C., C725.

been commissioned in the lake service in 1792, was accepted.[12] Earle commanded the *Royal George* when she bombarded the American dockyard at Sacketts Harbor on July 19, 1812 and when she was attacked by American gunboats off Kingston on November 10, 1812.[13]

This change of command was insufficient to revitalize the whole lake service and therefore it was decided to incorporate all the naval forces and establishments on the lake into the Royal Navy. As a result, in March 1813, "several distinguished naval officers, and 400 or 500 seamen, as fine looking fellows as we ever beheld", arrived in Kingston.[14] One of the new arrivals was an officer about whose right to fly the broad pennant there can be no doubt whatever. "During the continuance of your Command you are hereby authorized to hoist a distinguishing Pennant as Commodore on Board such one of His Majesty's Ships as you may select—".[15] This was written into the Commission of Sir James Lucas Yeo who had behind him a brilliant career as an aggressive fighter of small ship actions during the Napoleonic Wars. In 1800 Yeo had commanded ships' boats in a cutting-out expedition in Cesenatico, when thirteen merchant vessels were burned or sunk; and in 1805 he led a similar expedition at Muros Bay, capturing a fort and a privateer. Given command of that frigate, he was sent to Brazil where, with four hundred men, he captured a strongly fortified position that mounted over two hundred guns and he took upwards of a thousand prisoners. In 1811, in command of the frigate *Southampton,* he captured a large piratical frigate *Amethyste.*

On arriving at Kingston in May 1813, Yeo planned an attack on the American base at Sacketts Harbour but General Sir George Prevost failed to push home the attack to destroy the two large American frigates being built there. During the following year both Yeo and Chauncey, the American commander, refused action except on predominantly favourable terms; and both began to try to outbuild the other. As far as Yeo was concerned, this strategy may be defended on the grounds that, if communications on Lake Ontario had been permanently severed, the war in the west would have been lost. On May 6, 1814, when reinforced by two frigates built on Point Frederick, Yeo captured Oswego and then blockaded Sacketts Harbour. Before the war ended he had commissioned *St. Lawrence,* 110 guns, a three-decker man-of-war as big as any on the ocean, and he had two more building. The Americans also had two first line man-o'-war on the stocks.[16]

12. Wood, *Documents of . . . 1812,* I, 250, 254, 289; II, 114, 117.
13. C. P. Stacey, "Commodore Chauncey's Attack on Kingston Harbour", *Canadian Historical Review,* XXXI (2), June 1951.
14. *Kingston Gazette,* March 18, 1813.
15. Wood, *Documents of 1812,* II, 78.
16. *Dictionary of National Biography;* Brig. E. Cruikshank, "The Contest for the Command of Lake Ontario in 1812 and 1813", *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,* 1916, 3rd Series, X, 161-224; Cruikshank, "The Contest for the Command of Lake Ontario, 1814," Ontario Historical Society, *Papers and Records,* XXI, 95-159 C. Winton-Clare, "A Ship-Builders' War", *The Mariners Mirror,* XXIX, Cambridge, 1943), 139-148; Barlow Cumberland, "The Navies on Lake Ontario in the War of 1812", Ontario Historical Society, *Papers & Records,* VIII, 125.

The importance of the naval warfare on the Great Lakes had thus raised "The Lakes Service" to the status of a Flag Command and Kingston was the Commodore's headquarters. In August 1815, when Yeo was posted to the *Inconstant,* 36 guns, at Plymouth, the command of the Lakes Service went to Sir Edward W. C. Owen, K.C.B.[17] Sir Edward Owen had served as a commodore in command of a fleet which had bombarded Boulogne with Congreve rockets in 1805 and he had given naval support to the Walcheren expedition in 1809. He later served at Vera Cruz and off the Scheldt.[18] The Admiralty appears to have intended to place the headquarters of the Lake Service at Quebec, nearer to salt water; but as Owen addressed many letters from Kingston, and as his secretary Emerich Essex Vidal painted two water-colours there,[19] it is obvious that the Commodore must have spent most of his short command on Point Frederick. He lived in a one-story building on the site of the present football field at R.M.C. which was known as "the Commodore's House".

Sir Edward Owen's brother, Captain William Fitzwilliam Owen, who also had a distinguished record both in war and in the charting of unknown sea passages, was the commissioner of the Kingston Dockyard from November 1815 to May 1816, but may not have been a commodore.[20] He was ordered to begin a survey of the lakes; and in 1818, after he had left Canada, he produced a chart of Kingston harbour and approaches.[21] One of his young assistants was Acting Lieutenant (later Admiral) Bayfield who completed the survey of the Lakes.

Meanwhile, in October 1815, the command-in-chief of the Lakes Service had passed to Sir Robert Hall, K.C.B.[22] (who must be distinguished from Captain George B. Hall who had commanded a ship on Lake Erie during the war). The Admiralty had now decided on its peacetime policy for the lakes and Hall was ordered to establish a "respectable naval force" there. In 1816 Captain W. F. W. Owen was his senior officer on Lake Ontario in the *Kingston,* 24 guns (the wartime 60-gun frigate *Prince Regent*).[23] In April 1817 Commodore Sir Robert Hall took personal command of the *Kingston* (now listed as 56 guns).[24] Although spoken of as a commodore in the press and in the Navy Lists, Hall signed himself "Commissioner".[25] His programme for rebuilding British naval strength on the lakes came to an end with the signing of the Rush-Bagot

17. *Navy Lists,* August, October, November, 1815.
18. William R. O'Byrne, *A Naval Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1849), 846.
19. These pictures, now in the possession of the Royal Military College, are valuable documentary evidence of the state of the fleet and dockyard in 1815. See also Richard A. Preston, "The Journals of Sir F. P. Robinson, G.C.B.", *Canadian Historical Review,* XXXVI (1956), 355.
20. O'Byrne, *Naval Biographical Dictionary,* p. 846; P.A.C., Admiralty Lakes Service, VII.
21. P.A.C. Map Division, Captain W. F. W. Owen, R.N., "A Survey of the River St. Lawrence from Lake Ontario to the Galops Rapids, 1818".
22. *Navy List,* October 1815.
23. *Kingston Gazette,* September 7, 1816.
24. *Ibid.,* April 5, 1816.
25. P.A.C., Admiralty Lakes Service, VIII, XVIII, XXVI.

agreement in 1817 which limited future naval forces in commission on each lake to a single 100-ton gun-boat armed with one gun. The great wartime fleet was therefore laid up "in ordinary" (*i.e.* in reserve) in Kingston,[26] and Hall left Canada in July 1818. He was replaced by the Acting Commissioner of the Quebec Dockyard, Robert Barrie.[27]

Captain Barrie was a Scotsman who had served as a midshipman with Captain Vancouver in 1791 when the Pacific Coast was explored. From 1801 to 1811 he had served with distinction in European waters and had gained a reputation as an aggressive seaman. He was mentioned in despatches for his gallant conduct in a fight with a French squadron when, "though dangerously wounded, he had disdained to quit the deck". In 1804 he had been promoted Captain of the 24-gun *Brilliant* and in 1806 he went to the 38-gun *Pomone*. On June 5, 1807, without other aid, he attacked a convoy of seventeen ships, sank three men-of-war, and captured fourteen other warships and storeships. He next captured a privateer commanded by De Boissi, the Adjutant-General of France. In 1809, again unaided, he captured a French warship and five transports laden with supplies for the army. Two years later, once more sailing alone, he captured a Corsican fort and three French men-of-war in harbour. Later that year he captured Lucien Bonaparte on a French ship laden with booty. From 1813 to 1815 he served in the *Dragon* in American waters, and here again he made many captures.[28]

Between 1819 and 1820 Captain Barrie (he was apparently not then a commodore), built the Stone Frigate in Kingston Dockyard to house the gear of the warships of 1812 laid up in Navy Bay.[29] His instructions were to expedite the repair of the vessels at the bases in case of any emergency "but in a manner least likely to excite public notice or comment".[30]

From December 1820 the command of Flag Officer of the Great Lakes disappeared from the Navy List and in March 1824 Barrie's headquarters was shown to have been transferred to Kingston where he was listed as "Acting Resident Commissioner, Kingston, Upper Canada".[31] In August 1827, the *Cockburn,* (which had been declared rotten throughout in 1824) was commissioned as the first of the treaty gun-boats.[32] Barrie then obtained the privilege of flying a broad pennant in this little craft.

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26. R. A. Preston, "The Fate of Kingston's Warships", *Ontario History,* XLIV (3), July 1952, 90-91.
27. *Navy List,* December, 1820.
28. Lt.-Col. H. D. MacLaren, "British Naval Officers of a Century Ago", Ontario Historical Society, *Papers and Records,* XVII, 107.
29. C. P. Stacey, "The Stone Frigate", M.S., Royal Military College Library.
30. Adm 106/1998, Melville to Barrie, quoted in Lt. L. Farrington, "The Decline of Naval Bases on the Lakes of Canada, 1815-1834", Prize Essay, Royal Military College Library.
31. *Navy List,* March 1824.
32. Adm 106/2001, *ibid* 8/109, quoted by Farrington "Decline of Naval Bases", 7.

In 1831 he received instructions to sell off the old warships of 1812 and to prepare to close down the dockyard.[33] Three years later he was ordered by the Admiralty to strike his broad pennant and pay off the *Cockburn*.[34] But of all the big vessels, only the *St. Lawrence* was sold,—for £25. The others remained as hulks in the Navy Bay or "in frame" on the stocks on Point Frederick. The naval stores were either sold off, or sent down to Quebec for carriage to England. Barrie himself, by this time a popular figure in Kingston, left for England, after being dined by the citizens. The dockyard remained in the care of John Marks, naval clerk, the patron of St. Mark's church, Barriefield.[35] In 1836 the yard was completely closed down.

Barrie had warned the Admiralty that the naval forces on the lakes helped to "maintain the confidence" of the colony.[36] The reduction of the naval establishment soon showed that he was right. One year after the dockyard had closed, internal unrest in the colony broke out into rebellion and, receiving support from certain elements in the United States, necessitated a show of naval strength on the lakes.

In the spring of 1838 Captain Williams Sandom, R.N., with officers, sailors, and Royal Marines from the ships of war at Quebec, was hurriedly sent to Kingston. Sandom garrisoned his men in the dockyard warehouse (the Stone Frigate) and rebought the *Netley,* one of the old hulks of 1812 which still lay on stocks in the dockyard. She was commissioned as the *Niagara*.[37] Captain Sandom, referred to as "commodore", was entertained at a militia dinner soon after his arrival and was hailed as "the harbinger of better things—the restoration of the Dockyard long having been a desideratum of the inhabitants".[38] While this desire was to be realised, at least for a time, the citizens and press were probably premature in raising Sandom to the rank of commodore. Yet later he probably did fly the broad pennant on Lake Ontario.

Sandom commanded fleets both in, and out, of action. He took over, and armed, two steamships, *Queen Victoria* and *Cobourg*. When Johnson's "patriots" invaded Canada below Prescott, Sandom carried the militia on his steam vessels to defeat the insurgents at the Battle of the Windmill. Later, when the danger of border incursions had died down, he led a larger flotilla of steam ships on a pilgrimage to the Brock monument, which had been destroyed by a raiding party.[39]

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33. P.A.C., Admiralty Lakes Service, XLIX, November 14, 1831; Adm 106/2002, quoted by Farrington, p. 7.
34. Adm 2/1592, Jan. 11, 1834 – quoted by Farrington, p. 1; *British Whig,* March 11, 1834.
35. R. A. Preston, "The Fate of Kingston's Warships", *Ontario History,* XLIV (3), July 1952, 95-6.
36. Adm 106/2002, May 30, 1831, quoted by Farrington, 7.
37. Preston, "Fate of Kingston's Warships", 97; Admiralty Library, M.S. Lists kept by the Surveyor of the Navy, 1838, 1843; *ibid.,* M.S. Dimensions List of the Navy, 1831-1842.
38. *British Whig* (Kingston), Tuesday, April 24, 1838.
39. H. A. Musham, "Early Great Lakes Steamboats—The Battle of the Windmill and Afterwards, 1838-42", *American Neptune* (1948), VIII, 39, 44, 53.

After the scare of 1838, the British government began to revive the naval establishment on the lakes and to build steam war-vessels which the United States regarded as a breach of the Rush-Bagot Agreement. In 1840 the *Minos* was built at Chippewa; in July 1841 the *Cherokee,* a wooden paddle-wheel steam warship, was begun on Point Frederick. Sandom still had the old 1812 vessel, *Niagara* (20 guns), in commission in January 1843; but when the *Cherokee* was completed *Niagara* was paid off. However, *Cherokee* remained in reserve and *Niagara's* place was taken by the commissioning, on April 3, 1843, of a small iron steam warship *Mohawk* which had been assembled a year later than *Cherokee* was commenced. Sandom returned to England in that same year, but other officers remained to patrol the waters of Lake Ontario on the new steamships. The revival of the naval establishment was given all the appearances of being permanent when the dockyard was officially re-opened, in charge of a clerk David Taylor, on April 3, 1845.[40] On May 31, 1845, *Niles' National Register* carried a report that "the dockyard at Kingston is forthwith to be put on a full establishment and an admiralty commissioner will assume command, under whose superintendance three steam frigates of the largest class are to be built". Mr. Tucker, the builder of the *Cherokee,* was said to be already back in the city.[41]

The Oregon crisis of that year had increased the need for naval preparations on the Lakes. In 1846 *Mohawk* went to Lake Erie and *Cherokee* was put into commission for the first time.[42] But by 1850 things had quietened down again, *Cherokee* was laid up, and *Mohawk* returned to harbour duty in Kingston.[43] On June 21, 1852 the *British Whig* lamented under the heading "End of a Gallant Chapter" the end "of the naval establishment on the Great American Lakes". The occasion was the decision to pay off *Mohawk,* which was sold out of the service.[44] Her captain, Lt.-Commander Frederick Charles Herbert, who returned to England, was the last naval officer to command on Point Frederick. At the end of 1853 the dockyard was also closed down.[45] But apparently it remained closed to the public, presumably because it still housed naval stores. On April 12, 1855 the editor of the *Whig* stated that when the naval and military authorities finally withdrew and the dockyard reverted to ordinary naval and river uses he would, "while taking his diurnal walk, speak of things there as he does of those in Kingston harbour proper".[46]

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40. Surveyors of the Navy List, Admiralty Order of April 4, 1843; Navy Lists.
41. H. A. Musham, "Early Steamboats", quoting *Niles National Register,* May 31, 1845.
42. *British Whig,* June 15, 1846; Kingston *Chronicle and Gazette,* November 21, 1846.
43. *Navy Lists,* January - December 1851; *British Whig,* February 5, 1830, March 23, 1850, May 31, 1850.
44. *British Whig,* June 21, 1852.
45. *Navy Lists.*
46. *British Whig,* April 12, 1855.

During this last period of naval activity on Point Frederick, the senior naval officers had not been commodores. On the Queen's birthday in 1842 the war schooner *Montreal* was "anchored off the Commodore's Wharf, dressed most tastefully with flags".[47] After Sandom left, Commander William N. Fowell, then serving on the *Mohawk,* assumed command of all naval vessels on the lakes and moved to Kingston where he took up his residence in what the press called the "Commodore's Cottage" on Point Frederick. This was a house which Barrie had built on the site of the present Hewitt House. Twice, when daughters were born there to him, the local newspapers called him "Captain Fowell, R.N.".[48] An American visitor, Passed Midshipman Dillaplain R. Lambert, reported to the American authorities in 1844 that "Commodore" Fowell, R.N., was in command of the *Mohawk* at Toronto.[49] But all these references to commodore or captain in connection with Fowell appear to have been either nostalgia, courtesy, vanity, or fear. Fowell never became more than a commander while at Kingston.

He and his officers were very popular with the citizens. The departure of one, Lieutenant Davis, was mourned in the *Argus* with the eulogy: "There breathes not in Her Majesty's Service a more noble-minded Tar"; and when he returned a year later the editor exulted, "We have not yet seen him, but learn that he is looking well. As soon as we find a little time, we shall honour both him and ourselves by drinking a little of his Dockyard rum".[50] When Davis departed finally from Kingston in 1850, the city corporation went aboard the *Cherokee* to tender him an address and were duly "invited to partake of a cold collation which was laid out in the cabin, where they spent a couple of hours in a manner no ways disagreeable. The Mayor and Corporation returned to town about 4 o'clock, much pleased with their reception".[51] The relations of the city of Kingston with Point Frederick do not appear to have changed much in the course of a century.

The Fenian threat of 1866 brought another revival of naval power on the lakes. Vessels were hurriedly bought and armed and manned by sailors from the fleet. Four of these "gun-boats"—the wooden paddle-wheel steam tug *St. Andrew,* the sailing steamer *Hercules,* the *Canada,* and the *Royal*—patrolled the river from Montreal to Kingston. The ships came periodically to Kingston where the sailors were received enthusiastically by the citizens and cheered by the garrison at Fort Henry. It is probable that they made use of the facilities at Point Frederick and of Navy Bay. When the danger receded, the crews re-

47. *Chronicle and Gazette,* May 25, 1842.
48. *Argus* (Kingston), January 30, 1846; June 16, 1848; also *Chronicle and News,* June 16, 1848.
49. J. M. Callahan, *The Neutrality of the American Lakes and Anglo-American Relations* (Baltimore, 1898), 127.
50. *Argus,* January 9, 1846; February 2, 1847.
51. *British Whig,* March 25, 1850.

turned to salt water vessels and no permanent naval establishment on the lakes was set up.[52]

However, in the records of Calvin's dockyard on Garden Island there is a reference to the issue of rope to the steamer *Hercules* in April 1867.[53] On July 1, 1867, the gunboat *Hercules,* "decked out with flags from bulwarks to top-mast", took part in the celebrations of the birth of a nation. In combined exercises with the militia she "engaged the fort with her guns". In the evening a pyrotechnic display included "blue lights from H.M. Stores Dockyard". Apparently some sort of naval establishment still existed.[54] In June of 1867 we find that the *Hercules,* now called a "gunboat", received more supplies from Calvin's rope store.[55] It seems as though she had been especially recommissioned for the celebrations.

But the naval establishment on Point Frederick was now but a shadow of its former self. In 1870, when the British garrisons were withdrawn, the remaining naval stores in the Stone Frigate were shipped to England. Some went in the barge *Frontenac,* which carried the largest cargo to be shipped from Kingston up to that time, valued at $357,000.[56] Point Frederick was handed over to the Dominion of Canada by the Admiralty on condition that it should only be used for "naval purposes and for the naval defence of Canada."[57] One year later the militia encamped on the Point[58]; and in 1875 it was selected as the site for the new Military College, the students being housed in the Stone Frigate from 1876. Quite apart from the fact that throughout the years many ex-cadets served in the R.N. and R.C.N., this loose interpretation of the agreement made with the Admiralty has been fully justified by the contribution made by R.M.C.'s graduates to the security of Canada. The hoisting of a broad pennant by an R.M.C. Commodore-Commandant on Point Frederick in 1957, a little over one hundred years after the final closing down of the dockyard, is a fitting renewal of a great naval heritage.

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52. R.M.C. Library, Typescript, "Diary of John William Marsh".

53. R.M.C. Library, Calvin's Garden Island M.S. Ledger – 1867. Two small vessels named *Hercules* were bought by the Canadian Government for river service during the Fenian Raids. *Hercules No. 2* (556 tons) was hired from Calvin and Breck for $14,160; she was outfitted for $985 and repaired at a cost of $340. She was aged nine years. (Canada, *Sessional Papers, 1867-8,* VII, No. 37. "Statement giving information connected with the Provincial Gunboat Service during the years 1866-67").

54. *Programme for the Public Celebration of the Birth of the Dominion* (in the possession of Ronald Way, Fort Henry); *British Whig,* July 3, 1867. In recent years R.C.N. gunboats have commemorated *Hercules'* role in Fort Henry's Dominion Day ceremonies.

55. Garden Island Ledger.

56. *British Whig,* July 11, 1870.

57. P.A.C., R.G. 7, G 1, Vol. 180, Despatch Canada No. 282; R.G. 7, G 9, Vol. 53, Despatch Canada, No. 288; Order in Council, P.C. 331, approved, 6 Dec., 1870.

58. Engraving of Point Frederick, Kingston, dated 1871, now at Fort Henry.

Portrait of William Simpson, 1879
From a Photograph by C. Senior, Exeter, Ontario.

—Courtesy of Mrs. B. R. Brown, Royal Oak, Michigan.

Commodore's House in the Naval Yard, Kingston, Upper Canada, July 1815
By Naval Purser E. E. Vidal

In the background can be seen, from left to right, the first Fort Henry, two ships of the fleet in Navy Bay, and H.M.S. Wolfe and H.M.S. Canada under construction on the stocks.

—Courtesy of the Royal Military College of Canada

A SETTLER'S AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Introduction by Charles W. Humphries

Of the many pioneer settlers from the British Isles who thronged to the farmlands of this province during the eighteen thirties and forties, few possessed sufficient inclination or literary skill to leave written records of their experiences; the poem, which is printed below, is an exception to this general rule. This autobiographical sketch not only provides us with a picture of pioneer life but also demonstrates that it was quite possible for a poor man, a weaver by trade, to make a success of his farming venture. The form of the presentation adds to the interest and uniqueness of this record.

While the poem is self-explanatory it may not be amiss to add a few supplementary details. William Simpson was married at Arbroath on December 23, 1833, and his oldest child, Annie, was born there in October 1834. Five more children were born after the family settled on the first farm in Beverly Township near Galt: a girl in 1836, whom the poem mentions as having died sixteen and a half years later, William in 1837, Margaret in 1840, Mary in 1842 and Adam in 1844. At the second farm in the Huron District Robert was born in 1846, Martha in 1847, Ellen in 1850, and the tenth and last child, Frank, in 1855. The first years at this raw, bush-covered farm were extremely difficult. According to one of the daughters, porridge was their only food for some periods up to a week in length. Simpson would often carry a bushel of wheat thirty miles to London and bring back flour. Fires were made by striking a jack-knife on steel and catching the sparks on a piece of wool substance; and when all else failed, live coals had to be brought half a mile from a neighbour's house. The family slept on beds made of rope and equipped with straw mattresses. The huge open fireplace on one side of the cabin provided both the means of heating and of cooking.

But the hard times passed; by 1854 the land was paid off and seventy of the hundred acres were cleared. At the age of fifty-four, in 1868, Simpson was able to sell his farm and retire to Exeter in the expectation that his savings and the proceeds of the farm would enable him to live comfortably. By then all except the two youngest children had married and were settled on farms of their own. In November 1879, when he was sixty-five and his wife sixty-seven, the family gathered to pose for a photograph, and that of William Simpson (opposite) was taken at the same time.

The poem and photograph, as well as a newspaper clipping of 1937 containing an interview with his daughter, Mrs. Mary Horney, were supplied by Mrs. B. R. Brown of Royal Oak, Michigan, to whose kind permission we owe the opportunity of publishing this life of her maternal grandfather.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF WILLIAM SIMPSON WRITTEN BY HIMSELF IN THE YEAR 1873

In Fifeshire on the Bank of Tay, that river of renown,
In the heart of bonnie Scotland, there stands an ancient town.
The name of it is Newburgh, and I was born there
In Eighteen Hundred and Fourteen, the first Month of that year.

My father was a weaver poor, as most all weavers be,
But honest and industrious, and frugal too was he.
My mother died eleven months just after I was born,
Left me and a sister dear in after years to mourn.

Our father struggled seven years to keep us hale and clean.
He thought his son a noble boy, his daughter just a queen.
At seven years' end a change took place — He got another wife.
To call her mother we would not, and then began a strife.

My sister, rather more than nine, and I being nearly eight
To call a stranger mother then, was found to be too late.
Had she been wise and coaxed us on, she might have won the day,
But, using force, our Scottish blood would always answer "nay".

Thus things went on at intervals, our father seemed quite tired;
He saw her scowl and heard her howl, when patience was required.
Young as I was, I mind it well, how troubled he seemed to be,
And, when unseen, a crust of bread would hand to Nell and me.

For one bad fault our "stepie" had—She meant to break our courage—
Would give us milk with water mixed, and scrimpt us in our porridge.
At length came children of her own, but, then, what did it matter?
We must stand back,—them front the first, and this made things no better.

About this time I was sent to herd a bachelor farmer's rye,
Trotted to and fro each day, the place being handy by.
This I did three summers long, in Winter went to school;
Carried the pirns[1], water and coal, this being a standing rule.

Besides, I had the cradle to rock, morning night and noon,
And if at times I would it shirk, she'd try to crack my crown.
Next season I was sent to herd ten miles or so from home;
I stayed until the year was up, then home again I came.

They thought I now was big enough to learn the art of weaving—
To refuse what they thought right, would set our stepie rearing.
So with reluctance I began and learned pretty fast;
They, getting all I earned, said I was some help at last.

My sister, too, was put to loom a year or so before.
Our father tutored both of us, and sometimes rather sore.
We had to work from 6 A.M. 'til ten o'clock at night,
Half-fed, half-clad, but durst not speak, or stepie would show fight.

1. Pirn, a quill or reed upon which yarn is wound, or alternatively, a ball of yarn wound about a reed or quill.

For half a dozen years or so, had little time to play,
'Til we got soured, each year more soured, and Sister went away.
She boarded at another house but worked as hard as ever.
Though sorely curbed from girlhood, she naturally was clever.

This rather vexed our stepie too, for now she missed her earning.
She saw her thriving every day — Gentility was learning.

I wriggled on a few years more, in clothes and money scanty.
For they got all I earned 'til I was nearly twenty.
About that time a chum and I went to Arbroath to weave,
Trade was rather better there, and we thought we could save.

We both intended at that time to stay the Winter through,
And in the Spring return again when we saved pounds a few.
But oh how often man's designs are nipped in the bud—
Oft for good, though at the time not clearly understood.

It seems man has a course to run, some smooth and others rough,
'Though some wade through between the two, contented well enough.
But still there seems a turning point in most people's life,
And this was mine, for at that time I took to me a wife.

This altered all my views at once and raised ambition high,
For something better than the loom I soon resolved to try.
Weavers were the worst paid class of tradesmen in the country;
Those who had young families had seldom a full pantry.

This I had known from infancy, it soured me on the trade—
To raise and pinch a family so, it made me quite afraid.
As now I had got married and children might appear,
That set me thinking seriously what course was best to steer.

To stay in Scotland killed the hope of ever getting better —
To leave my native country was quite a serious matter.
Although to me from infancy its charms were seldom seen,
There's always something born with one, makes Country always green.

I had a chance to emigrate to Canada's rugged shore —
My father-in-law and family went there a year before.
They pressed me hard to go with them — I gently then declined;
Said I would think the matter o'er, and then make up my mind.

Near twelve months now had passed away — A child was born to me.
That brought my decision, and so we crossed the sea.
In Eighteen Hundred and thirty-five, come late into the Fall,
We sailed from Dundee Harbor and bound for Montreal.

Eight weeks and one day on the sea, arrived there safe and sound.
Six hundred miles more yet to go, before our friends we found.
That, then, had to be performed up rivers and canals,
In little boats they called bateaux, for there were several Falls.

Then we reached Lake Ontario, we found a steamboat there
To forward us to Hamilton for pretty moderate fare.
A fortnight now had passed away since we had left the ship,
Sailing more or less each day, the Sabbath not except.

No steamer then had crossed the deep, nor railway on the land
To waft the weary emigrant in haste, as now so grand.
Some thirty miles from Hamilton our friends had made a halt,
Bought some wild land to settle on in the neighborhood of Galt.

When we reached them they had a field brought under cultivation,
Gigantic woods surrounded all, I thought it beat creation
How men of sense and money too, and of a Christian race,
Should risk their lives, endure so much, to get to such a place.

These were my first thoughts of the bush when first to it I went.
Had I had neither wife nor child, short time I there had spent.
But as it was, and short of means, — but here I'll stop relating,
What happened in that distant day is useless now in stating.

Suffice to say, I liked it ill for months and years together,
Laborious work with wages small, kept sadly under weather.

In Eighteen Hundred and Forty-four, a brighter day had dawned.
For those like me with little cash, could get a lot of ground.
In Huron District in that year, a Notice did appear —
That land to settlers would be sold, to pay it in ten year.

To give the poor a chance to start, they asked no money down
But pay the first installment when the second year came 'round.
At that time half the district was a solid mass of bush,
But hope ran high, the sale was good, and people made a rush.

I, among the rest, was glad to catch at such a chance,
And though a hundred miles away, made haste and went at once.

Six children now had graced our hearth, and eldest scarcely ten,
The youngest but a few months old, all well and hearty then.
To clear my land and get it paid, ambition knew no bounds;
I toiled and strove near night and day, for I was strong and sound.

To tell the backwoods difficulties first settlers undergo
Would be to speak in vain indeed to those who do not know.
But for hope that always clings to those who have ambition;
To try by every lawful means to better their condition.

Only for hope there's lots would sink, but He's an excellent tutor,
Makes one forget their present ills and points them to the future.

This district settled very fast, but most of them were poor,
Which made their troubles longer last, and harder too, that's sure.
So I may pass ahead ten years, though one thing I might mention;
Four children more to us were born, made ten to share attention.

One had died, a blooming girl, our eldest child but one,
Sixteen years and six months old, our tears like rivers run.
To tell it now, my tears burst out, she was called off so quick,
No warning had we death was near, a few days slightly sick.

At ten years' end my land was paid, had seventy acres cleared;
Good house and barns, stables and shed, and cattle in the yard.
Eighteen years more I farmed on, then felt the worse for wear;
There's hard work upon a farm, though all the woods are clear.

In Eighteen Hundred and Sixty-six, I made a visit home;
Home one's always apt to call the Country they are from.
My father was still living then, but Stepie was no more.
My sister, too, was living still, and clever as before.

Our Stepie's family, too, I saw, but some were dead and gone,
The rest had many years before to men and women grown.
When talking of our younger days, I mentioned Stepie's name—
Her son told me most solemnly, she was not good to them—

He said he knew how it had been when under her we were,
His own experience told enough, for he had had his share.
I said now she was dead and gone, I wished her ashes rest,
And hoped her soul was found among and numbered with the blest.

I stayed five weeks, then sailed again, bid all friends a last adieu,
Convinced that it would be the last to them and Scotland too.
In three weeks' time I reached my home, and thought of the contrast
When first I sailed from Dundee Quay some thirty-one years past.

A voyage by steam on sea and land, a few days and it's done.
With that much time in former days, One scarcely had begun.
It's just the same with Canada, improvements are so great.
Those wild woods now are fruitful fields, with villages to mate.

In fact large towns have reared their heads, where then the wolves and bears
Roamed unmolested in their course, untroubled in their lairs.
Since that voyage, seven years have passed, and this is Seventy-three.
I'm nearly sixty years old now, in Seventy-four will be.

Five years ago I sold my farm, retiring from farming life;
Because I felt myself used up, so also was my wife.
Our family were all married off, had places of their own,
Except my youngest boy and girl, and they were nearly grown.

It seemed quite hard to sell the place where we had lived so long,
Had myself and wife been strong, we would have kept it on.
But being both broke down with work and getting on in years,
We thought the best thing we could do, was sell and retire from cares.

We saw to hire all would not pay, good servants too were scarce;
When one can't take the lead himself, it makes the matters worse.
So we sold farm, stock and all, put the money out
At Interest most at ten percent to neighbours round about.

Some Mortgages, some Notes on hand, when they were well secured,
And signed by parties that are good, thus safely being insured.
In this way, now in Exeter, we've lived for five years past.
Where it is very probable we'll end our days at last.

Now if this Sketch is ever read by any of my friends,
I give my word it's strictly true, and here the matter ends.

THE ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1957

STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE

REVENUE

Membership Fees — Annual	$1,619.05	
Libraries and Societies	610.45	
	$2,229.50	
Less increase in items paid in advance	91.00	$2,138.50
Ontario Government Grant	$3,000.00	
Sale of Current Publications	357.10	
Interest Received	294.95	
Donations	10.00	
Annual Meeting Revenue	328.00	$3,990.05
		$6,128.55

EXPENDITURES

Ontario History		
Printing	$2,103.50	
Engraving	79.30	
Envelopes	110.04	
Postage	76.66	
Editor	475.00	
Sundry Expenses	70.55	$2,915.05
"Valley of the Trent" Publication	900.00	
Less books on hand	645.00	255.00
Printing and Stationery		215.05
Postage — General		215.75
Telephone and Telegraph		14.84
Express		4.15
Fees and Subscriptions		14.15
Travelling		110.85
Book Purchases		40.50
Deposit Box Rent		5.00
Repairs		10.60
Gratuities at Christmas		16.00
Grant to Museums Section		50.00
Fidelity Bond		11.30
Audit Fees		20.00
Office Expense		24.56
Legal Expense		4.20
Secretary's Honorarium		625.00
Flowers		15.60
Stenographic Services		7.50
Annual Meeting		116.50
Sundry Expense		47.15
Total Disbursements		$4,738.75
Excess of Revenue over Expenditure		1,389.80
		$6,128.55

General Account Balance Sheet as at December 31, 1957

Assets

Cash on Hand	$ 9.55	
Cash in Bank	2,029.91	
Bonds	1,373.95	
"Valley of the Trent" Publication on Hand	645.00	$4,058.41

Liabilities and Capital

Due to Cruikshank Account		799.25
Reserve for Membership Dues paid in Advance		535.00
Capital Balance at January 1, 1957	$1,334.36	
Surplus Earned during 1957	1,389.80	2,724.16
		$4,058.41

General Cruikshank Publication Fund Balance Sheet as at December 31, 1957

Assets

Cash in Bank	$ 433.72	
Due from Suspended Society Account	57.75	
Bonds	4,400.00	
Due from General Account	790.98	$5,682.45

Liabilities and Capital

Capital Balance as at January 1, 1957	$4,869.20	
Sale of Books	643.98	
Bank Interest and Bond Revenue	169.27	$5,682.45

Life Membership Balance Sheet as at December 31, 1957

Assets

Bonds (par value)	$ 300.00

Liabilities and Capital

Capital Balance as at January 1, 1957	$ 250.00	
Additional Member during 1957	50.00	$ 300.00

Reserve Account Balance Sheet as at December 31, 1957

Assets

Bonds (par value)	$5,000.00

Liabilities and Capital

Capital Balance	$5,000.00

Bequest Account Balance Sheet as at December 31, 1957

Assets

Bonds (par value)	$ 200.00

Liabilities and Capital

Capital Balance	$ 200.00

Suspended Societies Balance Sheet as at December 31, 1957

Assets

Cash in Bank	$ 194.81	
Bonds (par value)	100.00	$ 294.81

Liabilities and Capital

Owing to Cruikshank Account Capital		$ 57.75
Capital Balance, January 1, 1957	$ 232.79	
Bank and Bond Interest	4.27	$ 237.06
		$ 294.81

AUDITOR'S REPORT

I have examined the Revenue and Expenditure Statement and Balance Sheets of the

Ontario Historical Society
For the year ending December 31, 1957.

My examination included a general review of accounting procedure and such tests of the accounting records and other supporting evidence as I considered necessary. It is not possible as yet to accurately account for all revenue from lists of published members or from serially-numbered cards currently being issued.

All bonds are not registered in the name of the Society.

Invoices were not presented for every expenditure although cancelled cheques were examined for every disbursement.

Subject to the above I report that in my opinion the Statement of Revenue and Expenditure and Balance Sheets present fairly the financial position of the Society at December 31, 1957, according to the best of the information and explanations given to me and as shown by the books of the Society.

Toronto, Ontario.
April 30, 1958.

P. S. SEDDON,
Chartered Accountant.

NEW MEMBERS

In last year's Summer Number we printed the names of more than 150 persons who had been enrolled as new members of the Society since the beginning of 1957. We are now very pleased to be able to give the names and addresses of another large number of persons who have become members since our last list was published. This gratifying increase in membership is due to the interest displayed by many individual members of the Society and by the work of the Secretary-Treasurer, Miss Edna Ash, who, under the direction of the Membership Committee, sent out a very large number of letters and sample copies of *Ontario History*.

The list of new members is as follows:

Life Member

Miss Phyllis Higinbotham, Guelph

Sustaining Member

Mr. R. G. N. Laidlaw, Toronto

Family Members

Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Bain, Toronto
Mr. and Mrs. Norman Small, Burlington
Mr. and Mrs. E. C. Guillett, Toronto

Individual Members

Mr. W. E. M. Aitken, Toronto
Rev. Jerome Arnold, Kitchener
Mr. John Bascom, Toronto
Mr. Nelson Bates, Toronto
Mr. Harry Bateson, Oshawa
Mrs. L. H. Beamer, Meaford
Dr. Grant Black, Port Colborne
Rev. Frank Boland, Windsor
Mr. Hye Bossin, Toronto
Mr. Ernest L. Brown, Toronto
Mr. Gene Butt, Toronto
Mr. E. R. Channen, Anten Mills
Mrs. Spencer Clark, Toronto
Mr. Gordon Clarry, Toronto
Mr. Sidney Clunis, Q.C., Chatham
Mrs. Gordon Conant, Toronto
Miss Tillie Cowan, Toronto
Mr. Brock Davis, Drayton
Dr. O. B. Dickinson, Scarborough
Mr. A. W. Ewanchuk, Weston
Mr. D. M. L. Farr, Ottawa
Rev. James Faulds, Kingston
Mr. Meredith Fleming, Toronto
Mr. Frank Flemington, Toronto
Mr. Frank Fog, King City
Mr. W. E. Fritz, Toronto
Mrs. C. A. Grant, Georgetown
Mr. A. J. Hamilton, Kingston
Mrs. Edmund Hansuld, Tavistock
Dr. Frederick Harrison, Toronto
Mr. A. J. Hill, Beamsville
Mr. Robert Hill, Toronto
Mrs. A. J. Holman, Niagara Falls
Dr. Bruce Hopkins, Kingston

Mrs. Morley Howell, St. George
Mrs. A. J. Huether, Morristown
Mr. Charles Humphries, Toronto
Mr. G. H. Johnson, Port Credit
Mrs. W. A. M. Jones, Toronto
Mr. D. Thurston Kee, Q.C., Chatham
Mr. T. Ashmore Kidd, Kingston
Mr. Roy King, Toronto
Mr. J. H. Kinkead, Goderich
Mr. G. Kitching, Ottawa
Mr. Fritz Knechtel, Hanover
Mrs. Gordon Lapp, Meaford
Mr. J. E. Laughlin, Toronto
Miss Sheila Lewis, Welland
Mrs. Roy Lunney, Bowmanville
Miss Agnes McCredie, Ottawa
Miss Helen McGregor, Peterborough
Mr. W. D. McHoull, Toronto
Mr. Hugh MacMillan, Alexandria
Miss Marion MacRae, Toronto
Mrs. R. G. Maniece, Peterborough
Mr. J. Parks Martyn, Sparta
Dr. D. C. Matheson, Kingston
Mrs. Jean Menzies, Owen Sound
Mr. Colin Mills, Hamilton
Mr. Justice Morden, Toronto
Miss Grace Morgan, Toronto
Dr. Aileen Noonan, Mount Forest
Mr. George Nunamaker, Rochester, N.Y.
Mrs. H. C. Nunn, Hamilton
Miss Jean Osborne, Listowel
Mr. G. C. Paterson, Collingwood
Dr. R. T. Paul, Georgetown
Mrs. R. E. K. Pemberton, London
Mr. John O. Plummer, Toronto
Lt.-Col. Stuart Polson, Kingston
Miss Helen I. Ralston, Toronto
Mr. Robert Rannie, Burlington
Mr. Harold Reeve, Port Hope
Dr. R. F. Richardson, Port Hope
Mr. Gordon Rintoul, Toronto
Mrs. William Rossow, Plymouth, Mich.
Dr. John W. Scott, Toronto
Dr. G. M. Singleton, Toronto
Brigadier Armand Smith, Winona
Mr. W. E. L. Smith, Kingston
Miss Emily Smythe, Clinton, N.Y.
Brigadier Eric Snow, Kingston
Dr. C. W. Sowby, Toronto
Mrs. James R. Spaven, Ingersoll
Mr. Erik Spicer, Ottawa
Mrs. R. C. Spooner, Kingston
Rev. P. F. Spratt, Ottawa
Mr. Charles Stewart, Perth
Dr. Nathan Stolow, Ottawa
Mr. T. H. B. Symons, Toronto
Mrs. Herbert Theal, Dunnville
Mr. Morley Thomas, Toronto
Dr. Henry Tweddell, Rhode Island, USA
Mr. S. A. Van Alstyne, Kingston
Mr. W. R. Wadsworth, Q.C., Toronto
Mrs. A. H. Walker, Niagara Falls
Mr. J. W. Walker, Q.C., Toronto
Mr. Norman Walsh, Merrickville
Mr. A. B. Whitelaw, Toronto
Mrs. Arthur Winslow, Whitman, Mass.
Mr. H. C. Woolley, Toronto
Mr. John Woolverton, London
Mrs. M. C. Wotherspoon, Port Hope
Mr. T. C. Wrightmeyer, Belleville
Mr. L. Youell, Toronto
Miss Agnes Young, Cornwall
Mr. A. S. Zimmerman, Niagara Falls

Corporate Members (Libraries)

Corby Public Library, Belleville
Dalhousie University Library, Halifax
High School Library, Port Hope
National Museum of Canada Library, Ottawa
The Public Library, Meaford
The Public Library, North Bay
The Public Library, North York
Victoria College Library, Victoria, B.C.

Corporate Members (Additional)

Chamber of Commerce, Penetanguishene
Civic Historical Committee, Toronto
Department of Education, Toronto
(a) Curriculum Branch
(b) Secondary Education Branch
Federated Women's Institutes of Ontario, Unionville
Hiram Walker Historical Museum, Windsor
Meaford Express, Meaford
Metropolitan Toronto and Region Conservation Authority, Woodbridge
Oshawa and District Historical Society, Oshawa
Paipoonge Museum, Fort William
The Canadian Historical Review, Toronto
Victoria County Historical Society, Lindsay

OLD FORT YORK SAVED

When in February last an item reviewing the situation at Old Fort York was prepared for this journal (see page 38, Volume 50, Number 1), it seemed entirely reasonable to suppose that Toronto authorities would consider altering the route of the proposed Lakeshore Expressway so as to avoid the encroachment upon the fort proposed in the original engineering plans. However shortly afterwards the situation changed radically for the worse, and chances that the fort would be spared from the intrusion became most remote. In rapid succession the Committee on Parks and Exhibitions, the Board of Control, and the Toronto City Council all decided in favour of the surveyed route. Strong representations from the Toronto Civic Historical Committee and by other interested groups were unavailing and gained nothing more than a brief delay while the surveys were being checked.

Then with even more dramatic suddenness the situation was completely reversed when the matter came before the Ontario Legislature imbedded in a bill of 21 sections (Bill Number 174) "An Act to Amend the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act, 1953", the necessary authority to construct the expressway over the fort being contained in Section 19. When on March 24 the bill arrived before the Municipal Law Committee of the Legislature for consideration, the Committee voiced the strongest possible displeasure at the proposal and voted unanimously to strike the offending section 19 from the bill. Undoubtedly this firm stand owed much to the torrent of unfavourable comment which the project had received, to the vigorous representations of numerous interested societies which had rallied to the cause, and to the vigilance of a group of Toronto citizens who presented the case for Fort York before the Committee. Deletion of section 19 carried the threat that the proposed highway would be compelled to skirt the whole of the Garrison Commons, and protests of Metropolitan Toronto officials induced the Committee to examine the site for itself on Wednesday, March 26. When the Committee continued in its original decision, Metro Chairman Frederick G. Gardiner offered as a compromise that the city be permitted to transfer garrison lands to Metropolitan Toronto for the expressway provided the highway avoided both the fort and the garrison cemetery. The proposal was promptly accepted and the necessary legislation was passed. Though it still remains for the Dominion Parliament to give the city the necessary authority to convey garrison lands to Metropolitan Toronto, this action by the Ontario Legislature has prevented a colossal piece of civic vandalism. The thanks of all historically minded people are due the Municipal Law Committee of the Ontario Legislature for its vital part in saving the fort and for most effectively showing city and metropolitan officials their proper civic duty.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST MISSION OF THE ASSOCIATE SYNOD TO CANADA WEST[1]

By Thomas Beveridge

Transcribed and annotated by Andrew W. Taylor

The following description of a trip by two American Presbyterian ministers across southern Ontario in 1822 was first published in *The Evangelical Repository,* Vol. XVIII, No. 6, November 1859.[2] Dr. Thomas Beveridge, 1796-1873, received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Union College, Schenectady, N.Y., in 1838. From 1855 to 1871 he was Professor of Church History and Biblical Criticism at Xenia Seminary, Xenia, Ohio.[3] The Associate Synod was an Anti-Burgher branch of the Presbyterian Church.

Publication of this account was followed two issues later, in January 1860, by "A Letter from Canada West" written by the Rev. Robert Acheson of Galt in which he thanked "the hoary-headed Dr. Beveridge" and commented upon the state of the Church in Canada after more than a generation of activity. He pointed out that while it was true that the 1822 mission had brought the Associate Synod into the field well in advance of other Presbyterian groups the initial advantage had not been maintained: "Had the mother church in the States followed up her first effort, she might now have counted as many Presbyteries in Canada as she can congregations. . . . Other sections, however, of the Presbyterian family from Scotland soon came in and occupied the ground and there are now large and flourishing churches"—such was Mr. Acheson's lament. However he concluded his letter by inviting the worthy Dr. Beveridge to return again to visit Canada: "Our people here would be made up with such a visit . . . and we venture to say that instead of being on the borders of civilization he will imagine he has gotten very near the centre."

The rival churches from Scotland to which Mr. Acheson referred were the following: The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connection with the Church of Scotland, formed in 1831; The Synod of the (Free) Presbyterian Church of Canada (1844); The Synod of the United Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connection with the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland (1834). There were also scattered efforts by Reformed (Covenanting) Presbyterians, but their impact was relatively minor.

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1. This is the original title. According to Dr. William Gregg, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada,* 1885, 552, there were earlier missionaries of the Associate Church, but it was not until Dr. Beveridge came that congregations were organized.

2. The Evangelical Repository was a monthly magazine published at Philadelphia by Mr. W. S. Young for the Associate Synod and, after 1858, for the United Presbyterian Church of North America.

3. William Melancthon Glasgow, *Cyclopedic Manual of the United Presbyterian Church of North America* (Pittsburgh: United Presbyterian Board of Publications, 1903), 43.

At the request of some friends, I propose to give some account of the first mission of the Associate Church to Upper Canada, or Canada West, as it is now called. This mission was undertaken more than thirty-seven years ago; and as no journal was kept by either of the missionaries, my dependence must be wholly on memory. In consequence of this there is a possibility of some slight mistakes as to dates, names, &c.; but the main facts are too strongly impressed on the mind to be readily forgotten.

The occasion of this mission was a letter from Mr. Orr, (if I have not mistaken the name.) He was a Scotch gentleman who had resided for awhile in the City of New York, and had removed to the neighborhood of Stamford, not far from the falls of Niagara. He had written to Dr. Alexander Bullions requesting him, or some other of the brethren, to take Upper Canada on their way to the Synod of Pittsburgh. Being a member of the Associate Church, and desirous to remain in her communion, he wished the services of some brother to preach and administer the ordinance of baptism in his family. In the course of the letter he had mentioned various points on the route as convenient stopping-places by which the traveller through the country might be guided. These, however, were strangely understood to be places where there was a demand for the labours of a missionary; and the letter being laid before the Synod at their meeting in May, 1822, they appointed Messrs. Beveridge, Hanna, and Alexander Bullions, to itinerate in Canada three months each, or thereabout, the expenses incurred to be defrayed by the Synod. Supplies were also appointed for Xenia and Cadiz, the congregations of the two first-named missionaries. Dr. Bullions did not at this time fulfil his appointment. Mr. (now Dr.) Hanna, and I had travelled on horseback, as was usual in those days, to the meeting of the Synod; and as soon as the Synod adjourned, we again set out on horseback to fulfil our mission. The first week we rode from Philadelphia to Cambridge N.Y.[4] Here we spent a week amongst friends, and then the succeeding week rode to Caledonia. Mr. (now Dr.) Donald M'Laren, the pastor of an Associate Reformed church in that town, being absent, at the invitation of some of his people we occupied his pulpit on the Sabbath, and were very kindly entertained by one of the members of his congregation. The fourth week after leaving Philadelphia, we crossed the Niagara river and set foot on the king's dominions. None of his officers paid any attention to us in the way of overhauling our baggage, or even making their appearance.

We were exceedingly disappointed when we arrived at Queenston, a little distance from the landing. It was a place which had become famous during the recent war as the scene of some bloody engagements, and we were not prepared to find it a little, old, tumble-down village of perhaps twenty or thirty houses, stuck on the side of a precipitous mountain.

4. In the Evangelical Repository, August, 1864, in an article entitled "The Late Thomas Hanna, D.D.", Dr. Beveridge added some corrections as follows: "In one or two circumstances of no great moment, Mr. Hanna, in a private letter, pointed out some mistakes in my account. We did not travel the first week of our journey from Philadelphia to Cambridge, N.Y., but spent the first Sabbath in the City of New York. He reminded me of a rather ludicrous occurrence which took place. A sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. S., an aged minister, who had travelled a great deal over the church, and over his old sermons. The text was Prov. III. 5. 'Trust in the Lord with all thy heart, and lean not to thine own understanding.' In the evening the gentleman with whom we lodged observed to him that he had forgotten a part of his sermon, and repeated it to him. He had heard it so often that he had a better recollection of some parts of it than the preacher. We also spent at least two Sabbaths in the bounds of the Presbytery of Cambridge."

This mountain, as it is called, was in all probability the ancient bank of Lake Ontario, which having found an outlet for its waters at the head of the St. Lawrence, receded from this ancient bank, which, we were told, and to some extent also observed, extended around the lake in all directions, and bound a strip of low land between it and the present bank, from ten to fifteen miles in breadth. Here, too, at Queenstown, it is thought the falls of Niagara began first to pour down their floods, and have worn down the deep and dismal channel of the river for six miles up to their present place. This mountain we found to be altogether a one-sided affair: there is no descent from it. It opens upon the table land which extends all the way from its top to Lake Erie. At the brow of the hill we observed a very dangerous place for ignorant or benighted travellers, which, no doubt, now is more safely guarded. As the road reached the top it turned suddenly to the right, at the very edge of the precipice over-hanging the Niagara river. By keeping straight forward the traveller would be precipitated not less (I suppose) than three hundred feet down among the rocks at the river's brink; nor was there any thing to guard against this danger, or give warning of it. Not long before we passed this place, a British colonel, travelling in a coach with some of his family after night, went over the precipice. Of course both horses and passengers were instantly killed.

We had been directed to call upon an aged Scotch gentleman by the name of Mr. M'Meekin,[5] who lived about half way between Queenston and the Falls. We accordingly called on him, and acquainted him with the object of our visit. We were very much astonished and perplexed, and our kind host also, when we came fully to understand one another. The old gentleman knew of no other member of the Associate Church in Canada except Mr. Orr, (and in the end he was the only one whom we found,) neither did he know of any favourable opening for missionaries of the Associate Church.

We found that this portion of the country had been settled at an early period, chiefly by such as had espoused the cause of Britain in opposition to her colonies in the time of the Revolution. Such as were loyal to the crown were encouraged to remove to Canada; and, as an inducement, a very liberal grant of land was made to them, and an additional grant to every child in the family. Mr. M'Meekin and several others, members of a small congregation in this place, had complied with this proposal, and were generally in very good worldly circumstances. But they had suffered in their spiritual interests by the kind of ministers who had laboured among them. They had a hired preacher at this time, whom they regarded as the best they had ever had, the only exception to him being that he had two wives living, though he lived only with one of them.[6] Canada was at this time a common refuge for all cast-off and worthless clergymen, both from Britain and the United States. It

5. Probably Andrew McMicking, a settler near Stamford in the early days.

6. Dr. Beveridge belonged to the anti-burgher branch of the 1733 Secession from the Church of Scotland. A minister of any other sect was, in his opinion, a fellow of very low repute. Writing in *The Toronto Star Weekly*, March 7, 1925, Rev. R. E. Knowles said: "The Associate (Anti-burgher) Synod was one of the many forms of overseas Presbyterians which included Established, Free, Wee Free, United Free, Burgher, Anti-burgher, Secession, Relief, Cameronian, Covenanter, Auld Licht, and heaven only knows what else. Each of these divers communions held the serene conviction that her own followers were undoubtedly the 'elect' referred to in the Bible. They charitably conceded that all others might be eventually 'saved', but it was evident that they feared it would take them all their time, many to arrive only 'on boards and broken pieces of the ship'."

was generally conceded that there were scarcely any ministers or people in this part of the county who had any reputation for religion except the Methodists. The congregation of Stamford[7] was probably among the most respectable of those embracing the Presbyterian faith, much more so than well could have been anticipated considering the character of the ministers who had laboured among them.

As Mr. M'Meekin was not able to give us any encouragement in regard to our mission, we concluded to call upon Mr. Orr, who lived farther up the river, and beyond the Falls. We had also an anxiety to see this great natural curiosity, and thought it not inconsistent with our main business to turn aside and look at this great sight. We were, in the first instance, greatly disappointed. In our younger days we had read of the terrible roar of the waters being heard at the distance of forty miles; and never having had this mistake corrected we had expected to be almost deafened by the noise at Queenston, six miles below. However, the mountain rose between us and them. Surely, we thought, when we reach its top, we will hear them. But no, not a sound could we hear. When we left Mr. M'Meekin's we were constantly listening, but in vain. When we came within less than a mile of the great flood we were almost ready to conclude that either the Falls had run out, or we had missed our way. Not a murmur of them could we hear. No doubt it would be different in the stillness of the evening, but we were travelling at mid-day. Even when we stood close by the Falls, the noise was not at all like what we had anticipated, the roar of many and mighty thunderings. There was only a dead, heavy sound, which did not render it necessary in conversation to speak but slightly above the ordinary tone of voice. The first thing which suggested itself to my mind was the immensity of the waterpower; and that compared with anything of the kind before seen this seemed as if designed for the manufacture of worlds.

After taking a view of the Falls, we continued our journey to Mr. Orr's. In passing a house belonging to a member of the congregation, we made some inquiry about our way. The lady of the house, who was of German origin, and had lived in Pennsylvania, came out to direct us, but had no sooner set her eyes upon us than she inquired if we were not from Pennsylvania. Having informed her, as was the truth, that we had both lived in that State, "I thought so," she said, "you have such big horses." We found Mr. Orr a jovial Scotchman, but somewhat brought under by fever and ague. He was not a little surprised when he found that we had been sent out as missionaries in consequence of his letter, and he was quite at a loss to know to what field of labour to direct us with any prospect of success. The pulpit at Stamford was occupied by their hired minister, and he knew of no other place where there was much likelihood of a demand for our services. Under these circumstances we hesitated for a time whether it would not be best for us to return at once to the States. Mr. Orr, however, had spoken of a settlement at Dumfries, about which he knew but little, yet thought it possible they might wish for preaching. So it was at last arranged that Mr. Hanna would remain at Stamford, where he occupied the pulpit on the ensuing Sabbath,[8] while I would endeavour to hunt up the people at Dumfries.[9]

7. The Associate, probably Burgher, Presbyterian Congregation of Stamford which was organized by United Empire Loyalists in 1784 later became "U.P." and continued so until 1935. It claims to have erected the first Presbyterian Meeting House in present-day Canada.

This was a settlement consisting chiefly of Scotch Highlanders, and about eighty miles from Stamford. My route lay through Ancaster and Dundas. So far I had little difficulty in finding my way. After this I had to depend on what information I could get along the road, both about the road and the people. As I drew near to the settlement, I found that there was among them an aged Scotch gentleman by the name of Harvie,[10] who had removed from Caledonia, New York, and was regarded as rather the leading man in the settlement. I accordingly obtained directions to his house. On my arrival I knocked at the door, and heard some one in a somewhat gruff voice invite me to come in. As I entered, the old gentleman was engaged either in making or mending shoes with his back towards the door. He never looked round to see who was there, but continued busily at his work. After I had stood in silence for a few moments, he called out to me without getting up, "What's your wull, sir?" As he appeared somewhat blunt in his manner, I replied in somewhat the same style by asking, "Do you want any preaching here?" He immediately dropped both shoes and tools, and springing to his feet, exclaimed in accents I shall never forget—"Oh, yes."

He and his neighbours had commenced a settlement in the forest about five years before, and had never had a sermon preached among them all that time. The nearest approach to it had been a Unitarian, or Christian, who had once preached in their neighbourhood, but that was a kind of preaching on which they felt no disposition to attend. Here, then, was an opportunity never before enjoyed by me to build where no other had laid a foundation since the beginning of time. Another singularity in my situation was to be upon the very verge of the inhabited world. One of the families in which I spent a night told me that they knew of no inhabitant between them and the north pole. Mr. Harvie had been an elder in the Associate Reformed Church of Caledonia. Some of the Highlanders, if I recollect rightly, had been members of the church of which Mr. DeNoon, of Caledonia county, was pastor. But neither he nor they were disposed to be very fastidious about my ecclesiastical connexion. It is undoubtedly wrong to disregard any principle or usage which pertains to true religion, but long destitution of the gospel by those who love it tends to lessen very much the alienation which too often exists between different evangelical denominations. Mr. Harvie did not wait to ask me if I were a minister of the Associate Reformed Church, nor did the Highlanders first inquire whether I belonged to the same church with Mr. DeNoon, or the Establishment of Scotland, to which they had formerly belonged, but they were all ready to take me into their arms as a minister of Jesus Christ.

My time here was chiefly spent at the home of Mr. Harvie. An incident occurred the first night of my sojourn with him, which, though not of importance, afforded me some amusement. His cabin consisted of two apartments; the larger one for general purposes, the smaller one affording barely room for a bed on the one side, and a loom on the other,

8. In August, 1864, Dr. Beveridge wrote, "After our arrival in Canada Mr. Hanna spent about two weeks at Stamford and the neighbourhood. He preached on two Sabbaths, and on some other days, in what are now the congregations of Stamford and Port Robinson. But he tells me I was mistaken in saying he occupied the pulpit at Stamford. Neither of us had the opportunity of setting our feet in any pulpit in Canada. We preached either in private houses, in barns, or in the open air."

9. A group of settlers in the area southeast of Galt.

10. Alexander Harvie died in 1825 and was buried in a plot on his farm, Lot 2, Concession 8, North Dumfries.

with a very narrow passage between them. This was my sleeping apartment. It was hardly to be expected that in such a new country feather beds would be very plenty. I think it not improbable that I slept on the only one in the settlement. It was not, however, as copiously filled as a straw bed beneath it. This latter was so completely stuffed that it had fairly assumed a round figure, and the feathers very naturally divided themselves in the centre, and lay over the straw like a pair of saddlebags upon a horse. When I went to bed I poised myself as well as I could upon the centre, but with a good deal of doubt of my ability to retain my position. My fears were not groundless, for no sooner had I closed my eyes in sleep than down I rolled upon the floor. There I lay for a little, reflecting upon my whereabouts. After going over the history of my life for some days past, and pursuing it up to the time when I had gone to bed, I came to the conclusion that I must have landed somewhere between the bed and Mrs. Harvie's loom. So I picked myself up, fixed the bed in a flatter form, and slept very comfortably for the rest of the night. This little affair afforded some amusement to the family and me in the morning.

The people in the settlement consisted of about twelve families. With the exception of Mr. Harvie and an aged Highlander, they were young, married persons, having generally families of two or three small children. Several things respecting them were very encouraging. Although without any access to public ordinances, they had formed themselves into a society for prayer and conference, which met regularly on the Sabbath, and was well attended. Whether they had any meetings on the common days of the week, I am not now able to say. Worship was also observed in their families; and their general character, so far as I could learn, was unexceptionable. They were exceedingly grateful to the Associate Synod for having sent them a missionary; and though none of them had belonged to this branch of the church, they were anxious to be connected with it. This, with them, was one of the most powerful arguments, that this church alone had sought them out, and taken compassion on their destitute condition. As it was doubtful whether the Synod would prosecute a mission for which there seemed so little encouragement, I dissuaded them from forming a connexion with us. But the more I urged them against it, the more intent they became. Accordingly, after preaching to them on the Sabbath, I appointed a day on which I would meet with them for conference and for sermon. At this meeting I explained to them as fully as I could the principles of the Associate Church, the Testimony of which they had not seen. The aged Highlander abovementioned, after listening to me awhile, would address himself to the younger members of the society in their native Gaelic, giving his views of what had been said. The result was that they gave their assent to the Standards of the Associate Church, so far as they were acquainted with them, and were received into communion.[11] After sermon somewhere about twenty children were baptized, most of the families having two or three to present for that ordinance. This was the beginning of the large and flourishing congregation of Galt, as it is now called, for many years under the ministry of the late Rev. James Strang,[12] and now of the Rev. Robert Acheson. Dr. Hanna having arrived from Stamford, we

11. This communion roll can be found in the writer's published history of First United Church, Galt, entitled *Banners Unfurled* (1949), 13.

12. For many years Mr. Strang's son, Hugh, was principal of the Goderich Collegiate.

set out together from Dumfries for Esquesing,[13] where we had heard there was another settlement of Scotch people who might be desirous of preaching.

We travelled back to Dundas, and thence east on the main road leading to Toronto.[14] At a certain point on this road, according to the directions given us, we turned to the north, along what was called a concession line. The land had been laid out in farms extending half a mile in breadth, along the main road. Every purchaser of a farm was obliged to cut down or clear a narrow strip of timber, something like two rods, on the one side of his farm. His neighbour, who joined him on that side, was obliged to do the same, so that between them there would be a road, or rather an opening of about four rods in breadth.[15] These concession lines, of course, occurred regularly at the interval of a mile, and extended up from the main road as far as the country was settled. As they had no choice of location, neither turning to the right nor left to avoid rough places, creeks, or marshes; and as the farmers were too busy in clearing out, fencing, and cultivating their fields, to do more than fulfil the letter of the law by felling the timber and suffering it to lie where it had been pleased to fall, we found these roads anything but comfortable for travellers. Where they were in the best condition, we had to be continually making a zigzag track to get around the fallen timber. In many places we had to turn aside into the woods, and sometimes to turn back to avoid marshes and impassable places. We entered the concession line early in the morning; and having travelled diligently till late in the afternoon, we arrived at the house of Mr. Laidlaw, sixteen miles from the main road. Here we found another small society, chiefly emigrants from Scotland, some having belonged to the Established Church, a few to one of the branches of the Secession, and a few had emigrated from the congregation of father Goodwillie, of Barnet, Vermont. There was, however, a Burgher minister among them, engaged in dispensing the sacrament of the Supper. We had arrived on Thursday, which had been observed as a fast-day; and the minister who was preaching for them lodged with us that night at the house of Mr. Laidlaw. He invited us to stay and to take part with him in the services of the occasion, which we declined to do. And we found afterwards that our refusal was much wiser than would have been our compliance. The preacher, like too many who were itinerating through the country at that time, proved to be a very worthless character. Having dispensed the sacrament of the Supper, and received a few dollars, which, no doubt, the poor people could ill spare, he took his departure, and stopping at

13. In the Dumfries congregation there was a committee known as the sermon tasters whose duty it was to be constructively critical of church affairs. This was of great help to inexperienced ministers. On one occasion they decided that the young student supply to whom they were listening must have profaned the Sabbath by shaving before church. How else could his face appear so clean? Dutifully they spoke to him about it. A week later another student, obviously only partially shaven, was in charge of the service. After church he confided to the committee that, intending to appear at his very best before the Galt people, he had left off shaving until the last minute, but, unfortunately, midnight had struck while he was in the midst of his preparations.

Esquesing is a township north of Milton.

14. Dundas Street, a military and commercial highway opened by the Queen's Own Rangers in 1793 under order of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe. (*Historical Atlas of the County of York.* Toronto: Miles and Company, 1878).

15. Many Ontario roads are four rods wide, which is sixty-six feet or one surveyors' chain.

the first public house on the road, remained there drinking till his money was all spent. The people finding what kind of a man they had been employing, and that two missionaries from the States, with the connexions of one of whom some of them had been acquainted in former years, had been hindered from preaching to them by this worthless vagabond, were much chagrined, and their attention was soon afterwards directed to the Associate Church for missionary aid. Here, also, a respectable congregation has been formed in connexion with the Associate Church; and the writer, a few years after this first visit, had the satisfaction of dispensing to them the sacrament of the Supper. They were for a few years under the pastoral care of the Rev. J. D. Cunningham, and now of the Rev. John Gillespie.[16]

Not finding a door opened for us at Esquesing, we turned back by the way by which we came, and proceeded along the main road leading from Toronto to Detroit. We inquired at different places along the road, and sometimes leaving it, inquired in the neighbourhood, but could find no places where there appeared to be a desire for preaching. One man, whom we met on Saturday, seemed willing to have us stay and preach till he found that we insisted on using the Psalms in praise, and then he very bluntly told us that he had no desire to hear us.[17] We remained at a tavern over Sabbath, and the landlord was so obliging as to invite in a few of his neighbours to hear one of us preach a sermon. This must have been somewhere near London.[18]

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16. Dr. Alexander Bullions organized the congregation in 1824. They built a brick church in 1866, Lot 6, Concession 3, at the corner of Number 5 Sideroad and the 3rd Line of Esquesing. It was still operating in 1919, but after that just gradually closed its doors. The building fell into decay and was demolished in November 1953. Those interested may find many details in *Records and Memories of Boston Church in the Scotch Block, 1820-1920,* by John McColl, D.D.

Fast Day was strictly observed. Rev. R. E. Knowles tells of how no one was allowed to whistle. According to the Minutes of the School Board, May 1863, any Galt teacher had the privilege of dismissing class for this day of preparation for the communion. There is a story of two youngsters who asked their father's permission to go for a walk. After considering the matter he gave his decision, "Aye, ye may gang, but see ye dinna enjoy yersel's."

17. It is interesting that the basis of union of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, 1858, article 18, states, "We declare that it is the will of God that the songs contained in the book of Psalms be sung in his worship, both public and private, to the end of the world; and in singing God's praise these songs should be employed to the exclusion of the devotional compositions of uninspired men." At Galt, hymns were never used in worship until after the congregation had joined the Canadian Presbyterian Church in 1907. In the 1840's a struggle arose in the session as to whether or not "repeating tunes" were sinful. A musical instrument first sounded within the walls of the church when, in the 1880's, the Rev. D. A. Duff brought his violin to set the pitch for the singing school which he was conducting in the basement. Eventually the class became a choir which introduced an anthem at the end of the service, much against the principles of certain elderly members who, every Sabbath, stalked out as soon as the sermon was over rather than countenance the sacrilege. It happened one Sunday that one of the strongest protestors having remained to the end, contrary to his custom, on being commended by the minister explained that he had not stayed willingly. When some visitors to the church had come into the row beside him he had moved along, leaving his hat under his first seat. He could not go home without it.

18. The *Cyclopedic Manual of the United Presbyterian Church* states that London Congregation, Telfer, Upper Canada, was organized by Rev. John Kendall in 1830, and disorganized in 1896. Mr. A. S. Garrett, Lucan, Ontario, has sent information and a newspaper clipping of the History of Vanneck United Church, London Township, written by Anne Sadlier Bilyea which tells of a log building 30 feet by 22 feet on the south half of Lot 29, Concession 9, used as a school and church on the site now occupied by Telfer School, S.S. No. 7. Rev. Mr. Kendall organized the Associate or Anti-burgher congregation in 1830, and Rev. William Proudfoot the

The following week we proceeded on our way to Detroit. At one place on our road, we had to cross the river Thames by swimming our horses. When not very far from Detroit, we were driven into a house for shelter during a shower of rain. The man of the house tried to talk English, and I tried to talk French, but neither of us could understand the other. This part of Canada was originally settled by some Frenchmen, who intermarried with the Indians. They made sole use of the French language, but probably not in its purity; although had it been more pure, it is not likely I would have found it more intelligible. It is quite a different thing to learn to read a language, and to speak it or understand it when spoken. In passing along the margin of Lake St. Clair, we observed a very singular mode of navigation. For a distance of several rods from the shore the water is very shallow, probably not more than from twelve to eighteen inches in depth. Along this shallow water we saw frequently large, flat-bottomed boats, drawn by oxen. The oxen waded in the water, and drew the boat after them, as they would draw a cart upon the land. Having reached Detroit at the close of the week we remained there over the Sabbath. I preached in the forenoon to a garrison of soldiers; and Dr. Hanna, in the afternoon, for a Presbyterian minister settled in this place. Detroit, although one of the oldest cities in the United States, was at this time very limited in size. It did not seem to me to contain over three or four thousand inhabitants. From Detroit Dr. Hanna and I travelled together two days along the western shore of Lake Erie.[19] This region we found to be very marshy, and but thinly inhabited. At one place we crossed a bridge over a little creek, consisting of back water from the Lake. The creek was not much more than a rod wide, and the bridge was very widely constructed of logs. To our great surprise, a man came out of a poor log cabin, and demanded toll. I cannot now remember the amount; but I recollect that I asked him whether the sum demanded was the price of the bridge, or the tax for crossing it. On the second day we reached the Maumee river. Here, very much to our regret, our ways separated. Dr. Hanna, the next morning, took an eastern route along the southern shore of Lake Erie, while my way lay directly south through what was called the Black Swamp. Here, for three days, I travelled about one hundred miles, through an unbroken and gloomy forest. A road had been cut through this wilderness by General Hull during the last war with Britain, for the purpose of conveying soldiers and military stores to Detroit. But it had been very rudely made at the first; and being altogether neglected, it was overgrown with bushes, grass, and weeds. There was, however, a slightly marked path running along this opening in a very serpentine course, which rendered the way passable for travellers on foot, or on horseback. My first day's journey was from Maumee to Fort Finley, a distance of forty miles. During the day I met a traveller on foot under circumstances

English Settlement congregation in 1833. The latter group built a 30 foot by 40 foot church directly across the road in 1837. Telfer records are confusing because English Settlement was United Presbyterian Church of Canada from 1847 to 1861; the Anti-burgher congregation was United Presbyterian Church of North America after 1858. Later a U. P. Church of North America was erected on the lot where the English Settlement Church had been, and about 1900 this building was sold and moved to Hyde Park to be used as a hall. Walton congregation in Huron County was organized by Rev. John Gillespie of Stamford in 1862. It joined the Canadian Presbyterian Church in 1910 and Duff's United Church, Walton, is its present-day successor.

19. To reach his home, Mr. Beveridge had to travel south and slightly west for almost 200 miles.

which caused no little alarm to both of us. The day was very warm; and the country, though marshy, afforded neither springs nor streams for the thirsty traveller. The person whom I met being parched with thirst had found some water in a puddle upon the path, and had stooped down to imbibe what was least impure upon the surface. The bushes and grass with which the road was filled had completely concealed us from each other, till my horse was ready to step upon his head, when he sprang in a moment to his feet. So sudden an apparition of a human being in a place of such dreary solitude, startled me not a little. Our mutual alarm was great, but only for a moment. The evident fear of each party tended soon to remove the fear of each other. We interchanged a few words about the weather and the road, and then passed each on his way. About six miles from Fort Finley, I met an Indian on horseback; but as we saw one another for some time before we met, neither of us was at all frightened. The only English I could get from him was, "Horse sick." My horse had lost a shoe, and was somewhat lame. Travellers would do well, before entering on a journey through a long wilderness, to have their horses' feet examined before they set out, as they are not likely to meet blacksmiths' shops in such places. I asked the Indian the distance to Fort Finley. He understood the question, and held up six fingers to let me know that it was six miles. Either this day or the next I passed an Indian encampment in the woods. They were employed in drying the hides, and attending to the curing of the meat of the deer, and other game which they had killed. I went among them, and signed for a drink of water, which was brought to me by a young female. But when she came within a few feet of me she hesitated. Perhaps she had never seen a white man before, for she appeared somewhat frightened at my appearance. A young Indian, who was standing near me, took the cup from her with a hearty laugh at her timidity, and handed it to me. At Fort Finley I found the first habitation since I had left Maumee. This was a house of private entertainment, kept by a pioneer in the wilderness. His nearest neighbours were at a distance of forty miles on the one side, and thirty-eight on the other. Here I only recollect of having, at the request of the man of the house, who could not himself do it, smoked out some bees from a hive; and as a reward for this service I was allowed a plentiful feast of the honey. The next day my journey consisted of thirty-eight miles; when, again, I came to a solitary habitation in the wilderness. I suppose from the appearance of the map, it must have been at the place now called Kenton. Here I found General Vance, afterwards Governor of Ohio. We rode in company the next day through the wilderness, about twenty-two miles, till we reached Bellefontaine. From this place onward we found the country settled. I lodged that night with my fellow-traveller, whose residence was near Urbana, and was very kindly entertained by him and his family. The next day my horse had become so lame, that I only made out to reach Springfield. This was Saturday; and by great exertion I was able the next morning to reach Xenia, a distance of eighteen miles, in time to preach to my congregation in the afternoon. The appointments made for them during my absence had not been fulfilled. From the time I had left them, about the middle of May, till my return, some time in July, they had not had a single sermon.

The result of this first exploration of Canada was so discouraging that we hesitated a good deal in making out our report, whether to recommend the sending of any more missionaries to that country; but

it was finally concluded that the few people at Dumfries, who had formally connected themselves with the Associate Church and would look to us for supplies, ought not to be neglected. For their sakes, therefore, we agreed to recommend the prosecution of the work, though we could give no flattering account of its commencement. It seems, however, in this case, that though the beginning was small, the latter end has greatly increased. In a few years congregations were formed in all the places where we had preached, and, in some, where the door was shut against us. There are now in the region visited by us five settled pastors, constituting the Presbytery of Stamford, in connexion with the United Presbyterian Church.[20] The missionaries were soon afterwards persuaded that the prayers of the church, which had followed them, had brought down a blessing on their feeble and almost desponding efforts.

How wonderful is the contrast between the state of things thirty-seven years ago, and the present time! Dr. Hanna and I spent between five and six weeks in our route from Ohio, through Philadelphia and New York, to Canada, a journey which could now be performed in about two days. We passed through little villages, which have since become great cities; and through wildernesses, which have now become fruitful fields.

How wonderful the ways of Providence in accomplishing his purposes! The very existence of the Presbytery of Stamford may be said to have been owing to an almost unaccountable blunder, either in the writer or the receiver of a letter. Had Mr. Orr's letter been rightly understood, the Associate Synod would hardly have put itself to the trouble and expense of sending a missionary to Canada to baptize his child. But two missionaries were sent; and out of regard to a few families at Dumfries, others followed them, till congregations were organized, and finally a Presbytery constituted. Let us learn not to despise the day of small things.

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20. Excerpts from the Report of the Presbytery of Stamford, July 1850: "While nothing deserving of particular notice has occurred in our settled congregations, we beg leave most respectfully and earnestly to call attention to the state of our vacancies. We regret that so little supply was allotted to us last year owing perhaps, in part, to our report having been missent and not having reached Synod. We have enjoyed the acceptable services of our brother, the Rev. Peter Campbell, but are sorry to say that of late he has been sick and has given us notice that neither Presbytery nor Synod must calculate on his future services. In consequence, and in concurrence with the wishes of Esquesing, the call made out for that brother and sustained was laid aside so that congregation, together with those in London and Blenheim, is left entirely dependent on supply. We trust that Synod will do all that is within its power to send the bread of life to the destitute. Two missionaries would find abundant employment during the whole year; or if that could not be granted, one during the whole year and another for six months would be most desirable. Neither Synod nor Board of Missions need hesitate on account of expenses. The mission to Upper Canada has been self-sustaining from the beginning and the annexed account ($133.31½) will show the amount in hand to pay for supply. This consists partly of money collected for the express purpose of paying supply in Canada and partly of money collected which, to save exchange and remittance, Synod allowed us to retain for the same purpose.

Respectfully submitted,
John Russell, Moderator.

Twenty dollars from the missionary society in Rev. James Strang's congregation, Dumfries, for Home Missions will be remitted."

AN HONEST REPORT

Possibly because the average Canadian evinced little interest in military matters during the closing decades of the nineteenth century very frank comments and criticisms were printed in the Annual Reports of the Department of Militia and Defence. Thus the Acting Deputy Adjutant General of Military District No. 1 (London, Ontario) felt no compunction about reporting on the North-West Expeditionary Force of 1885 as follows:

"The 7th Battalion "Fusiliers," 7 Companies were ordered to hold themselves in readiness for the above service on the night of the 31st March, last, when every Officer and Man responded promptly. On the 7th of April, the Battalion marched out of London with 20 Officers and 237 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men; leaving 5 Officers and 57 Non-Commissioned Officers and Men at Battalion Headquarters, the latter of whom should have joined the colors, had there been equipment sufficient to supply them; this grave fault I can but attribute to a want of system, and lack of Regimental interior economy, as, within less than two years, previously, there was a full equipment in the armories. The Battalion returned to London on the 24th July, after having rendered valuable service in assisting to quell rebellion, but, since their return, little or nothing has been done towards maintaining any high standard of efficiency, mainly caused through the apathy shown by the Commanding Officer of the Battalion, as no better working material can exist than may be found in the other Officers and Men, and no better field than the city of London can be required from which to keep up a first class Infantry or other Corps."

J. Mackay Hitsman.

A SUGGESTION

The Ontario Historical Society can put to good use funds for general expenses, for publication purposes, and for museum development.

You are urged to include the Society as a beneficiary when preparing your will. The following form is suggested:

I give, devise, and bequeath to the Ontario Historical Society the sum of ....., which shall be held by the Society as an endowment, the income from said endowment to be used for such of the Society's purposes as its Executive Committee in its discretion may determine.

The President or the Secretary-Treasurer of the Society will be happy to discuss this matter with interested persons.

The Ontario Historical Society,
206 Huron Street, Toronto 5.

THE PROGRAMME OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

By now members will have received in the mail registration forms and information regarding the programme of this year's Annual Meeting of the Ontario Historical Society being held in the historic Midland district on Thursday, Friday and Saturday, June 12, 13 and 14. The following announcement is intended for those who may not have seen this literature and to remind all our readers that the Committee has arranged what promises to be a very full, enjoyable programme and one well worth attending.

Convention headquarters for registration and for the Thursday sessions will be the Midland Y.M.C.A. where registration will begin at 1.00 p.m. The afternoon's programme, after the opening ceremonies, consists of talks by William Cranston on Huronia and by Mrs. Gordon Lapp on the pitfalls and joys of writing a family history, followed by the meeting of Council, at which time other members are invited to visit the Huronia Museum. In the evening Mrs. Elsie Jury will present an illustrated lecture on the archaeology of the district, entitled "Huronia from the Ground Up". The Friday session will include visits by bus to the Indian Village, the Forget archaeological site and the Martyrs' Shrine, under the direction of Dr. Wilfrid Jury and Father McCaffrey in the forenoon; and in the afternoon to the old Naval Establishment at Penetanguishene, where a garden party and other activities have been arranged. In the evening members will go by boat to Honey Harbour for the annual dinner at the Delawanna Inn. The guest speaker, the noted historian Colonel Charles Stacey, director of the Canadian Army Historical Section, will give an address on the War of 1812 with special reference to the Upper Great Lakes. Saturday's proceedings include the annual business meeting and discussion of the junior history project, while for the afternoon an excursion by bus and boat to the Christian Islands has been arranged. The Midland meeting promises to be one that members will enjoy and long remember.

Those attending the convention are urged to register in advance by writing to Miss Jean Snaith, Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 70 Bond Street, Toronto 2, Ontario. The following are the charges for the various events: Registration $2.00; Bus Tour (Friday) $1.50; Luncheon Friday at the Martyr's Shrine $1.00; Boat Trip to Honey Harbour and return, Friday evening, $1.00; Banquet at the Delawanna Inn, Friday, $3.50; Christian Islands trip, Saturday, $1.00. Advance registration forms should not be mailed later than May 30 and cheques should include exchange and be made payable to Ontario Historical Society Convention Committee.

PROGRESS OF THE L.D.S. MICROFILMING PROJECT

Canadian cameramen are gradually taking over the Ontario records microfilming project. Mr. Lloyd Hughes of Salt Lake City, who has organized the work as well as filmed a large portion of the records, will be returning to Salt Lake City in June. He is leaving in charge Mr. Roy Hamilton of the London Microfilming Company who with a staff of Ontario residents will complete the work which has made such fine progress to date.

To the end of March 1958 the tremendous total of 1,692 rolls of film have been taken, or more than two million separate exposures, many covering two pages of original material. A large number of the rolls have already been processed and are deposited with the Ontario Archives, where they may be examined. For the counties of Essex, Kent, Lambton, Elgin, Middlesex, Norfolk and Wentworth filming of land records, municipal records and Presbyterian Church records has been completed. In addition, the land records have been completed in Perth, Oxford, Brant, Lincoln and Welland counties.

The project is proving much larger than was anticipated and a vast quantity of research materials is being produced. We hope that members of the Society will take full advantage of the materials now available at the Archives as well as those still to come.

At Salt Lake City a microfilm collection of over 168,000 rolls, representing far in excess of 200 million pages of documents from many parts of the world, has been built up. The Genealogical Society is to be congratulated on the scope and quality of its work.

—Leslie R. Gray.

LUNDY'S LANE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

On January 27, 1958, the Society held its annual meeting and dinner in All Saints' Parish Hall, Niagara Falls, with Mrs. S. C. Tolan in the chair in the absence of Mr. J. T. Ruley who was ill in hospital. Miss Lillian R. Benson, President of the Ontario Historical Society, was the guest speaker. The following are the officers for 1958:

Honorary Presidents—Rev. P. Mayes, Mrs. E. W. Tench and J. T. Ruley; Honorary Vice-Presidents — Miss S. Crysler and Miss Julia Barnett; President—Mrs. Stanley C. Tolan; Vice-Presidents—Mrs. Mabel Warner, Miss Jean Radford and F. Petrie; Secretary-Treasurer—Miss Addie Hanna. Other members of the Executive Committee include Mr. and Mrs. C. Ferris, W. Arch, H. S. MacLeod, W. Kent, Mrs. K. Anderson, D. Crane, M. Climenhage.

LENNOX AND ADDINGTON SOCIETY'S FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY

More than fifty years ago a prominent Napanee citizen complained publicly that the documents, letters and pamphlets of his county had no safe resting-place. In 1907 Clarance Warner organized the Lennox and Addington Historical Society, with the avowed aim of preserving history. The following year the society affiliated with the Ontario Historical Society.

Historical Week, March 14-22, marked these two golden anniversaries in Lennox and Addington. Objects from the past were displayed in thirty-two store windows in Napanee, Newburgh, Bath, Odessa, Moscow and Yarker. A mahogany chest of drawers with 'John Gibbard, Napanee, C.W., 1848' stamped in a drawer came to light. Hand-woven coverlets and blankets, hand-wrought hardware, guns made by Ontario gunsmiths vied for attention with hoop skirts, a U.E. Loyalist ink well, and a collection of old bottles.

Interest in the displays brought a crowd of three hundred to the Open House and reception at the County Museum on Sunday, March 16. Receiving with the president, Judge G. F. Smith, were Miss Lillian Benson, president of the Ontario Historical Society, Dick Herrington, grandson of W. S. Herrington, former president, and historian of the county, and Miss Alice Fairfield, the society's oldest member. A telegram of congratulation was read from Mrs. Gilbert of Boston, daughter of Clarance Warner.

The week concluded with the annual meeting on Saturday, March 22nd. Guest speaker was Ethel Brant Monture. Dr. G. F. Stanley presented to the president, Judge G. F. Smith, an Award of Merit, given to Lennox and Addington Historical by the American Association of State and Local History.

—Mrs. N. W. Hutchison

OXFORD HISTORICAL SOCIETY

On October 18, 1957, the Society met in the Council Chamber, Woodstock City Hall (the sixtieth anniversary of a meeting in the same hall) under the chairmanship of Mayor Winnifred Williams of Ingersoll. The following are the officers for 1958: Honorary Presidents — Mrs. E. J. Canfield, Woodstock, and Dr. D. M. Sutherland, Embro; President—Roy G. Hart, Woodstock; Vice-President—Stanley J. Smith, Ingersoll; Secretary—Laverne S. Johnson, Mount Elgin; Treasurer—Mrs. W. R. Ward, Woodstock; Curator—Mrs. Bernadette Smith, Woodstock; Librarian—Mrs. S. Krompart, Woodstock. Directors will be appointed from each township and from Woodstock and Ingersoll. The Society, which is being reorganized after a period of dormancy, has the support of the local I.O.D.E. and Women's Institutes and has been given twenty-five dollar grants from the Woodstock City Council and the Ingersoll Town Council.

THOMAS ARTHUR REED

On March 12, 1958 the noted student of the history of Toronto, Thomas Arthur Reed, died at the age of 86. A native of that city, he was educated there and graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Music from Trinity College in 1901. In 1906 he joined the administrative staff of the University of Toronto, first as assistant to the bursar and then from 1914 until his retirement in 1947 as financial secretary of the University of Toronto Athletic Association. In his earlier years Mr. Reed was organist for the Anglican churches of St. Thomas, St. Luke, St. Matthias, and St. Augustine, and for more than thirty years he served as secretary of the Mendelssohn Choir under Dr. Augustus Vogt.

An acknowledged authority on the early history of Toronto, he delivered during his long career no less than five hundred illustrated lectures, the last one shortly before his death. His collection of engravings, prints and photographs of Toronto scenes, buildings and places of historic interest numbered many hundred. His wide, exact knowledge of the early life of Toronto was frequently drawn upon by historians, newspapermen and civic officials. His publications included *The Blue and White,* a record of fifty years of athletic endeavour in the University of Toronto, and he was the general editor of *A History of Trinity College,* commemorating its one hundredth anniversary in 1952. He contributed numerous historical articles to *The Canadian Geographical Journal, The Canadian Historical Review, Ontario History, The Varsity Graduate, The Trinity University Review, The Architectural Review,* and other periodicals.

For many years he was an active member of the Executive Committee of the Corporation of Trinity College, a past president and life member of the York Pioneer and Historical Society, a member of the Toronto Civic Historical Committee, the Ontario Historical Society, the University Masonic Lodge and the Arts and Letters Club. His summer home at Ancaster was noted for its fine flower gardens, its fruit trees, its wide lawns and ornamental trees and shrubbery. Here he and Mrs. Reed dispensed a hospitality memorable as it was gracious. He will long be remembered with affection and appreciation in many fields of endeavour, not least in the realm of local historical studies.

—*William Colgate.*

A GENEALOGICAL INQUIRY

FRASER-ROSS. Information is sought for the children of Donald Fraser and Catherine Cameron of Johnstown, New York, a son and a daughter, married to a Ross, who left Johnstown with Sir John Johnson during the American Revolution. Please write the Rev. Duncan Fraser, Grace Church, Canton, New York.

THE ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Ontario Historical Society was organized on September 4, 1888 under the title of 'The Pioneer and Historical Association of the Province of Ontario' and adopted its present name in 1898. Its object is to develop the study of history, particularly that of Ontario.

Beginning in 1899 a volume of *Papers & Records* has been published nearly every year. These volumes, I to XXXIX, contain a vast amount of information about the history of the Province. Several volumes now are out of print, but the rest are available at $4 per cloth-bound volume and $2 for those with paper covers. In 1947 the name of the publication was changed to *Ontario History* and since the beginning of 1949 it has appeared in quarterly form. *Ontario History* is sent free to all members, and issues of previous years are available at $1 per number or $3 per volume of four issues. In addition ten special volumes of documentary material have been published, the details and prices of which may be obtained by writing the Secretary-Treasurer.

General meetings of the Society have been held annually in various centres in the province. These meetings have enabled members to meet with others who are particularly interested in local and provincial history, and to visit many of the historic spots in Ontario.

The several classes of membership are: corporate, $3 a year, sustaining $10 a year, family $5, and annual, $3. Life memberships are $50. Membership is open to all societies and individuals interested in the history of Ontario. Fees should be sent to the Secretary-Treasurer, 206 Huron Street, Toronto 5.

The Executive Committee is: President, Miss Lillian R. Benson; First Vice-President, John M. Gray; Second Vice-President, Dr. George W. Spragge; Secretary-Treasurer, Miss Edna Ash, 206 Huron Street, Toronto 5; Immediate Past-President, Leslie R. Gray; Additional Members, Mrs. S. C. Tolan, Dr. A. S. Hardy Hill, Dr. R. A. Preston, Miss Ruth Home, Dr. J. M. S. Careless, Miss Mabel C. Stewart, Mr. A. W. Taylor (Chairman of Museums Section), and Morris Zaslow (Editor, *Ontario History*).

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND MUSEUMS IN ONTARIO

affiliated with The Ontario Historical Society
206 Huron St., Toronto 5.

Ancaster Twp. Historical Society. Sec.-Treas., Mr. Wm. C. Whitfield, R.R. 3, Dundas.

Brant Historical Society. Sec., Miss Elizabeth Wood, 96 St. George St., Brantford.

Bruce County Historical Museum. Sec.-Treas., Mrs. T. J. Cornish, Box 446, Chesley.

Dundas Historical Society. Sec., Miss A. Briggs, 6 Hope St., Dundas.

Essex County Historical Association. Sec., K. H. D. Hall, 451 Park St. W., Windsor.

Essex Historical Society. Dr. G. F. Macdonald, Box 187, Windsor.

Fenelon Falls and District Historical Society. Corr.-Sec'y., Miss Bessie Nie, Fenelon Falls.

Fort Erie Historical Society. Cor. Sec., Mrs. S. H. Raymond, Fort Erie, Ont.

Grimsby Historical Society. Cor. Sec. Miss C. Freshwater, Box 241, Grimsby.

Haldimand Historical Society. Sec.-Treas., Mrs. E. Jones, Cayuga.

Head-of-the-Lake Historical Society. Cor. Sec., Miss K. L. McCullough, 90 Duke Street, Hamilton.

Historical Society of Ottawa. Sec., Miss Mabel M. Stewart, 465 Tweedsmuir Ave., Ottawa.

Huron Institute. Sec., Mrs. Ruth Gibbons, 123 Birch St., Collingwood.

Huronia Historic Sites and Tourist Association. Sec., Barry C. Hughes, Midland.

Jordan Historical Museum of the Twenty. Sec., Barbara Coffman, Jordan.

Kent Historical Society. Sec.-Treas., Mrs. James Huff, R.R. 5, Chatham.

Kingston Historical Society. Sec., Dr. R. A. Preston, R. M. College, Kingston.

Lennox and Addington Historical Society. Sec.-Treas., Miss Lepha A. Woods, Napanee.

Lincoln County Historical Society. Sec., Miss K. E. Duff, 52½ Thomas Street, St. Catharines.

London and Middlesex Historical Society. Sec., Miss Helen Mason, 540 Colborne St., London, Ont.

Lundy's Lane Historical Society. Sec.-Treas., Mrs. Charles Ferris, 2482 Thorold Road, Niagara Falls, Ontario.

Macnab Historical Association. Sec., Miss Hilda Ridley, P.O. Box 101, Sudbury.

Niagara Historical Society. Miss Marjorie Ball, Niagara-on-the-Lake.

Norfolk Historical Society. Sec.-Treas., Miss Grace King, Simcoe.

Norwich Pioneers Historical Society. Sec., Mrs. N. Lees, Norwich.

Oakville Historical Society. Treas., W. L. Fulford, 33 Kingswood Road, Oakville.

Orillia Historical Society. Sec., Miss Mary Sheridan, Public Library, Orillia.

Ottawa Valley Historical Society. Corr.-Sec., Miss Doris Cameron, 451 Miller Street, Pembroke.

Oxford Historical Society. Sec., Laverne S. Johnson, Mount Elgin.

Oxford Museum. City Hall, Woodstock.

Parry Sound Historical Society. Sec., Mr. Adam M. Brown, Box 82, Parry Sound.

Pennsylvania German Folklore Society of Ontario. Sec., L. B. Weber, Waterloo College, Waterloo, Ont.

Peterborough City and County Historical Society. Sec., Mrs. R. G. Maniece, R.R. No. 9, Peterborough.

Port Hope and District Historical Society. c/o Mr. Stuart Ryan, Q.C., 2 Cavan Street, Port Hope.

Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry Historical Society. Sec., Miss E. Dewar, Public Library, Cornwall.

Thunder Bay Historical Society. Sec., Mrs. L. Coveney, Fort William.

U.E.L. Assn., Gov. Simcoe Br.—Corr.-Sec'y., Mr. Macaulay Pope, 521 Briar Hill Ave., Toronto 12.

U.E.L. Assn., Toronto Br.—Sec. Miss Ethel Ross, 30 Prince Arthur Ave., Toronto.

Waterloo Historical Society. Sec.-Treas., Miss Emily Seibert, 31 Madison Ave. S., Kitchener.

Welland County Historical Society. Sec., Miss S. E. Oille, 76 Aqueduct Street, Welland.

Wellington County Historical Research Society. Sec., Mrs. H. M. Warren, Elora.

Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto. Cor. Sec., Mrs. C. D. Cook, St. Andrew's Gardens, Toronto.

Women's Wentworth Historical Society. Sec., Mrs. George C. Gage, 248 Park St. S., Hamilton.

York Pioneer and Historical Society. Sec., Miss Marion Keffer, 3297 Yonge Street, Toronto 12.